Title: Politeness orientation in the linguistic expression of gratitude in Jordan and England: a comparative cross-cultural study

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POLITENESS ORIENTATION IN THE LINGUISTIC EXPRESSION OF GRATITUDE IN JORDAN AND ENGLAND: A COMPARATIVE CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY

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By

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ABSTRACT

The thesis investigates ways of communicating gratitude are perceived and realised in Jordan and England. It focuses on the impact of several variables on the expression of gratitude and examines the differences between the data elicited by pragmatic research instruments (DCT and role-play).

Data were collected from native speakers: 46 Jordanian Arabic, 46 English natives using DCTs, role-plays and interviews. Slight similarities and significant cross-cultural differences were revealed in terms of gratitude expressions' perception, number and strategy type. This cultural contrast reveals differences in the sociolinguistic patterns of conveying gratitude in verbal and nonverbal communication. The most important theoretical finding is that the data, while consistent with many views found in the existing literature, do not support Brown and Levinson's (1987) claim that communicating gratitude intrinsically threatens the speaker's negative face. Rather, it is argued that gratitude should be viewed as a means of establishing and sustaining social relationships. The findings suggest that cultural variation in expressing gratitude is due to the high degree of sensitivity to the interplay of several social and contextual variables. The findings provide worthwhile insights into theoretical issues concerning the nature of communicative acts, the relation between types of communicative acts and the general principles of human communication, especially rapport between people in social interaction, as well as the relation between culture-specific and universal features of communicative activity types.

Differences were found between pragmatic research instruments. The outcomes indicate that using a mixture of methods is preferable as long as this serves the aim of the study as it merges their advantages by eliciting spontaneous data in controlled settings.

The ramifications of this study for future multi-dimensional investigations of the contrasts between Arabic and English speaking cultures are expected to prove particularly significant

in virtue of corroborating or refuting existing findings and in this way paving the way for new research.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Bedfordshire, United Kingdom. I also confirm that proper credit has been given where reference has been made to others' work and no part of this thesis has been submitted for any award of any other degree or qualification in this or any other university of advanced education.

Nisreen Al-Khawaldeh

30/1/2014

DEDICATION

To my parents,

for their endless love, encouragement, inspiration, support and prayers which were a candle in my life in spite of the distance. They have inculcated in me a love of pursuing science. They taught me that even the largest task in my academic pursuits can be accomplished if it is done one step at a time. There is no doubt in my mind that without their continued love and support, I could not have completed this thesis.

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I know I can never repay their favour, but I would like to seize the opportunity to thank them all for what they have given me.

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Nisreen Al-khawaldeh

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CCSARP:	Cross-Cultural Speech Act Research Project
DCT:	Discourse Completion Task
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
FTAs	Face-Threatening Acts
IPA:	International phonetic Alphabet
NSsA:	Native Speakers of Arabic
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
NSsE:	Native Speakers of English
RP:	Role-play
PsycINFO	American Psychological Association
RDP	The Recipient Design Principle
SIP	The Sequential Interpreting Principle
APP	The Adjacent Placement Principle

PUBLICATIONS

Published Papers:

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Research aims

The present research is anchored in the field of Cross-cultural Pragmatics. Cross-cultural pragmatics is defined by Blum-Kulka et al., (1989), as the study of the similarity and dissimilarity in pragmatic strategy use among different languages and cultures, particularly the appropriate use of language within different socio-cultural contexts. Pragmatics in general is defined by Mey (1993) as the science of language that people employ in their daily life to attain their purposes. Highlighting the main areas that pragmatics are concerned with, Yule (1996: 3) defines pragmatics as the study of speaker meaning, contextual meaning, how more gets communicated than is said and the expression of relative distance. A very comprehensive definition has been proposed by Verschueren (1999: 7) which is "a general cognitive, social, and cultural perspective on linguistic phenomena in relation to their usage in forms of behaviour". In more detail, Crystal (2011: 36) describes pragmatics as "the study of language from the point of view of the user, especially the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects of their use of language on other participants in the act of communication".

All definitions seem to relate pragmatics to language. It could be argued that pragmatics is the study of the communicator's meaning, whether linguistic or non-linguistic, and that linguistic pragmatics is concerned with linguistic communication (i.e. communication which involves the use of language). The present researcher uses the term pragmatics to refer to the study of the speakers' ability to communicate more than what is clearly said and listeners' ability to figure out the speakers' intended meaning. This indicates that the communicator's intended meaning of the communicative act is not fully specified by linguistic knowledge, but depends largely on the integration of the linguistic meaning of the

utterance, non-linguistic signs and the context (where the context is a set of assumptions drawn from various sources including the perception of the physical environment, general world knowledge - including socio-cultural knowledge - and (immediately) preceding discourse).

The study aims to present an account of ways expressing gratitude[1] is (a) realised and (b) perceived in Jordan[2] and England. From the realisation point of view, the study examines which linguistic forms used for communicating gratitude the members of the two cultures consider socially appropriate in some typical situations of social interaction. It basically examines their perceptions of the strategies (the ways in which gratitude is systematically realised linguistically and their number) they use, as well as whether, and, if so, how, these perceptions differ in the two cultures. The study investigates the general awareness of the importance and the appropriateness of expressing gratitude, the causes of occasional awkwardness, and the extent to which the participants are conscious of the situational and social norms/rules governing the communication of gratitude. The realisation/production of gratitude expression, focusing on its sensitivity to social and contextual factors, such as the characteristics of the participants and the context (as well as their influence on the variations in the number and content of gratitude strategies) is also examined.

[1] It is noteworthy that expressing gratitude is much broader, complex and interesting than the speech act of thanking. We are interested in the communicative goal of expressing gratitude for beneficial actions which can be realised by means of a variety of speech acts such as the speech act of thanking, the speech act of apology and many others. Clearly the use of the term 'thanking' for the speech act of thanking and as a cover terms for all strategies for communicating gratitude is misleading.

[2] Jordan is a tribal society where social life concentrates on the family and the loyalty of its members to the family. Identifying themselves by their tribe, which they consider their support network, Jordanians are morally, sometimes also financially co-dependent. Their remarkable traditional expectation is dealing with each other as brothers, sisters, relatives, friends and keeping in contact with their neighbours. Thus, they are mutually loyal and helpful to each other. Arabic is the official language in Jordan, though with various spoken accents. Jordan is based on Muslim-Arab values which drive all life aspects from the integration between civil and religious law. Jordan still upholds its cultural ethos in spite of the relatively recent dramatic changes in the economy and business. One of the prominent ways through which Jordanians express their positive feeling for each other is inviting them for food which is renowned as a symbol of hospitality (Al-Khatib, 2006).

The study is based on data elicited by several research instruments whose merits and shortcomings are explored in a way which highlights the differences between the pragmatic research instruments, namely Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs) and closed role-play in order to assess their practicality and effectiveness in investigating the communication of gratitude in Jordan and England.

1.2 Research questions and hypotheses

In order to conduct the research in a systematic and fruitful way, a number of questions and hypotheses were formulated and then investigated empirically. The present study aims to answer the following questions and test the associated hypotheses.

1. Are there any differences in the communication of gratitude between Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of English[3] in respect of the use of different numbers and types of strategy for expressing gratitude?

Null hypotheses

[3] The participants selected for the purpose of this study were Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of English who were considered likely to share a significant number of cultural representations. I assumed that students whose native language was Arabic, who descended from parents who considered themselves to be Jordanian, and who had been born, brought up and educated in Jordan were likely to be representative of the Jordanian culture. I assumed that students whose native language was English, who descended from parents who considered themselves English and who had been born, brought up and educated in England were likely to be representative of the English culture. This was a practical decision, which in no way implies that language, ethnic origin and place of education are necessary conditions for membership of a given culture. Of course, many native and non-native speakers of English or Jordanian Arabic from various geographical and ethnic backgrounds are also members of these cultures. If a culture is characterised in terms of the cultural representations shared by a population (as discussed in section 2.6), we should expect a given culture to include people from different ethnic, geographical and social backgrounds.

H_0 1.1: Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of English do not significantly use different numbers of strategies when expressing gratitude.

H_0 1.2: Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of English do not significantly use different types of strategy for expressing gratitude.

2- How and to what extent are the data gleaned from DCTs different from those obtained by using role-plays?
3- Do Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of English perceive the communication of gratitude in different ways?

1.3 Rationale

These research aims and questions are motivated by a number of relevant observations. According to Kroeber and Kluckhohn's (1952: 86) theory-neutral definition: "Culture consists in patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historical derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values". Cultures are different and cultural beliefs, values and attitudes influence the ways people communicate and are reflected in their usage of language. Whether we communicate in our mother tongue or the second language, we follow certain socio-cultural norms/rules which are largely culture-specific. These norms/rules could constrain our communicative behaviour and guide the comprehension of communicative acts.

Bond, Žegarac and Spencer-Oatey (2000: 53) characterise culture as "a social system, not a person" "shaped by the institutions and the behavioural norms distinguishing cultural groups from one another". Members of each community share favoured means of creating and expressing particular ideas (Hymes, 1972; Mey, 1993). In particular, the performance of a communicative act is governed by

culture-specific social constraints on what speakers say, to whom, and under what conditions (Gumperz and Hymes, 1986, Gass and Neu, 2006). When individuals from different cultural backgrounds communicate, they rely on these culturally inherited constraints for monitoring, assessing and interpreting their interlocutors' speech acts in context, which Thomas (1983:101) refers to as 'pragmatic transfer'[4].

The unawareness of cross cultural differences in constraints on the realisation of speech acts could lead to misjudgement, mainly because differences are not recognised as cultural; rather, they are assumed to reflect conforming or not conforming to a single set of socio-cultural norms presumed shared by both cultures, as Daniel (1975) observes. It is contended that a clear contrastive discussion of polite formulae and expressions in the two languages and the cultures associated with them can be useful in developing better productive and receptive performance, deepening the understanding of the target culture and improving communicative competence (Davies, 2000: 75; Beebe and Takahashi, 1989: 199).

It is not surprising that people who live in different cultures have different perceptions about ways of expressing gratitude linguistically. Since England and Jordan are markedly different cultures, comparing their ways of expressing gratitude linguistically reveals remarkable cultural differences which underlie language use in the socio-situational settings under investigation. Cross-cultural pragmatics focuses on the similarities and differences in the pragmatic strategies used in different languages and cultures (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Iwai and

[4] "The influence exerted by learners' pragmatic knowledge of languages and cultures other than L2 on their comprehension, production and learning of L2 pragmatic information (Kasper, 1992: 207). Similarly, Žegarac and Pennington (2000:165) defined it as "the carryover of pragmatic knowledge from one culture to another".

Rinnert, 2001; Al-Adaileh, 2007; Farahat and Ravindranath, 2009; Al-Fattah, 2010; Ahar and Eslami, 2011; Al-Hammuri and Smadi, 2011; Al-Zubaidi, 2011; Al-Zumor, 2011; Eshreteh, 2014). Considerable attention has been paid in cross-cultural pragmatics research to investigating the extent to which the socio-cultural rules of particular populations influence the perception and usage of language, showing that language functions as a repository of socio-cultural norms, attitudes and values. The approach followed in the present study is comparative, focusing on the cross-cultural resemblances and differences in the linguistic realisation as well as the sociopragmatic judgments relating to the use of particular strategies for communicating gratitude in specific contexts (Kasper and Schmidt, 1996).

One of the main concerns of pragmatics is to determine the universality of the social rules which play a significant role in molding both linguistic meaning and language use. Though previous cross-cultural studies have significantly enhanced our understanding of speakers' use of language, they focus on the production of the speech act; the strategies used to express the intended speech act, while very few studies have considered the interplay of social and contextual factors in the interpretation as well as the production of gratitude expressions (see Section 2.2). The present study is an attempt to fill this gap by investigating native speakers' perceptions concerning ways of expressing gratitude in Jordan and England.

Previous pragmatic studies have also tackled other features of linguistic communication, such as: politeness [5], the use of contextualisation cues, conversational styles, and indirectness in cross-cultural situations, as well as pragmatic failure[6]. Studies show that intercultural miscommunication could be caused by incorrect use of: (a) contextualisation cues, (b) indirectness, (c) politeness, and (d) conversational strategies (Gumperz, 1982, Tannen, 1985;

5 The study of 'politeness' within pragmatics is concerned with describing and explaining why and how people from different cultures establish, maintain, or support their social relations through language use (Cheng, 2005). Different researchers define 'politeness' in different ways, as illustrated in Section 2.4.

6 "The inability to understand what is meant by what is said" (Thomas, 1983: 91).

Scollon et al., 2011). According to Kádár and Mills (2011), politeness has been highlighted as a salient issue since the first encounter between Western and East Asian people. Awareness of each other's appropriate communication taking into account the associated politeness routines, social values and structures is of great importance for achieving successful intercultural communication. Though there are a number of studies on politeness in Eastern cultures and languages, Kádár and Mills (2011) argue that there is no big picture which could help us draw some relevant generalisations and formulate a comprehensive theory of politeness. In the absence of a general theory of politeness, progress in this field can only be made by investigating people's perceptions and behaviour in particular cultures. So, this view lends support to the present study.

An important reason for carrying out the present study is the importance of expressing gratitude for establishing and maintaining social bonds (Intachakra, 2004). The sensitivity of rapport management to expressing gratitude appropriately has been recognised in Brown and Levinson's (1987) approach to linguistic politeness as a typical face-threatening act (FTA)[7]. These authors argue that people who engage in communication usually collaborate to maintain each other's face[8]. Thus, speakers should be aware of when and how to express gratitude in their culture and other target cultures in order to maintain each other's face as well as their own. This suggests that expressing gratitude can be considered to be based both on some universal features of human communication and cognition, and on norms/conventions which are largely culture-specific. These assumptions are not incompatible. They show that the ways the

7 A face-threatening act (FTA) is the act that challenges or threatens the face wants of either the speaker or the hearer, that is the act that would make someone possibly lose face (i.e. public self-image or self-esteem) in some way (Brown and Levinson, 1978; 1987). The expression of gratitude as a face-threatening act is clarified in Section 2.4.1.3

8 The concept of "face" was first perceived by Goffman (1967:5) as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" where a line refers to a person's "pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts by which he expresses his view of the situation and through this his evaluation of the participants, especially himself". More elaboration on the relationship between face and politeness is provided in Section 2.4.

communication of gratitude is institutionalised[9] in different cultures (i.e. the culture-specific social norms of expressing gratitude) should be explained as resulting from the interplay between some universal features of social interaction and some culture-specific factors (values, attitudes). In view of this, and the fact that gratitude expressions serve a societal function, people should not only know the semantic formulae essential for expressing gratitude, but they should also be familiar with the cultural values, attitudes and beliefs, so they can develop an intuitive understanding of the culture-specific rules and norms for expressing gratitude in the target language (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984).

Communicating gratitude is greatly valued in Arab cultural groups, as it plays an important role in establishing and maintaining on-going social reciprocity and good relationships between interlocutors which are very important to these groups (Samarah, 2010). Nydell (1987) and El-Sayed (1989) observe that the point of exchanging gratitude is the acceptance of the speaker within a social group, rather than the making of offers as tokens of gratitude (which, consequently, should not be taken literally). However, the literature review reveals that in spite of its significance and high frequency in daily societal communications, gratitude expression has attracted little attention in pragmatics research compared to other communicative acts, such as requesting and apologising (see Section 2.2.2).

Moreover, comparatively little attention has been paid to communicating gratitude in Arabic cultures (see Section 2.2.2.2). Typically, previous cross-cultural studies have been comparative investigations of the cultures of Japan and England (Coulmas, 1981), several cultural groups (e.g. English, Japanese, Korean, Spanish, Russian and Chinese) (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986, 1993; Hinkel, 1994), Thailand and Britain (Intachakra, 2004), the pragmatic development of Chinese learners of English as a second language (Cheng, 2005), and Iranian

[9] Institutionalisation could be characterised in terms of higher level/order representations (i.e. the general knowledge assumptions) about how lower level/order representations (words and their combinations and other communicative behaviours) are distributed (i.e. used in relation to particular situations under specific conditions) (Sperber, 1996). Further elaboration of the notion of institutionalisation and the expression of gratitude is provided in Section 2.7.

learners of English as a second language (Farnia and Suleiman, 2009). As Feghali (1997) points out, research on Arab cultural-communication patterns has been entrenched in concise and dated anecdotes. Moreover, as Shouby (1951) observed many years ago, research on Arabic cultures has tended to lump all Arabic-speaking countries together. Al-Fattah (2010) also points out that politeness is expressed and interpreted differently in various cultures, which is particularly evident in a culture such as Arabic, where religion plays a significant role in communication. To the best of the present researcher's knowledge, there has been no attempt to compare the culture of Jordan with that of England in relation to the linguistic communication of gratitude.

The present study is original in that it makes a contribution to the field of cross-cultural pragmatics by considering the communication of gratitude in the cultures of Jordan and England, in a way which addresses some important gaps in and limitations of previous research. In particular, the comparison of the realisation patterns of gratitude in these two cultures helps us gain more fine-grained insights into the differences and/or similarities in the linguistic behaviour and the conceptualisations of linguistic politeness associated with it in these two cultures.

Research methodology has provoked a hot debate in cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics research (Tran, 2004) (see Section 3.3). The most important methodological challenge for empirical research in the field of pragmatics is that different methods of data collection have different advantages and disadvantages, even when the main goal of eliciting data comparable to real-life production in a controlled context is shared (Tran, 2004). As Kasper (2000:340) observes "research into adequate data gathering methodology remains a lasting concern in pragmatics research". Likewise, Nurani (2009) argues that the debate on pragmatic research instruments will continue until a new efficient and effective instrument for collecting data is invented and researchers become conscious of the advantage of a multi instrument approach for data collection. While this is undoubtedly true, it is important to bear in mind that natural sciences (the so-called hard sciences) do not rely on absolutely accurate data. They aim to

gather data which is reliable enough to test particular hypotheses, rather than aiming at data whose accuracy is absolute. It would not be realistic for studies in the social sciences to aim to obtain data whose accuracy is absolute. What is needed is data which is sufficiently accurate for it to be possible to test particular hypotheses and cast light on the research questions. An important condition for meeting this requirement is that the data collection procedures and methods should be independent of the hypotheses being investigated and of their theoretical underpinnings (See Sperber (1996), Žegarac (1998)). This motivated the researcher to use several research instruments which were evaluated as suitable for obtaining data relevant to the aspects of the communication of gratitude to enrich and enhance the quality of the present study.

The researcher found that most of the research on expressing gratitude uses the discourse completion task (DCT) (Cheng, 2005; Chang, 2008; Farnia and Suleiman, 2009) except Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) who compared role-play as well as written and oral DCTs, and Schauer and Adolphs (2006) who compared corpus and DCT. Due to the significance of ensuring the validity and reliability of the research instruments, a number of empirical studies were conducted to compare, validate and evaluate the research instruments, although they are still few. Only a few studies use a combination of pragmatic research instruments and assess their effectiveness in eliciting gratitude expressions (e.g. Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993; Koutlaki, 2002; Schauer and Adolphs, 2006). Few studies have examined the validity of closed role-plays compared to DCT in cross-cultural pragmatics especially the communicative act of gratitude. Besides, the findings of these studies are not unequivocal. Due to the inadequate number of studies focusing on data-collection methods in pragmatics research, there has been no definite evidence to show that the DCT is a valid, accurate or suitable method to elicit speech act data. The question of whether orally collected data are in fact more realistic and naturalistic than written data still remains inconclusive. Thus, this is a large-scale study designed to address this issue. DCTs and closed role-plays were employed in the present research to assess their practicality and

effectiveness in exploring the expression cross-culturally in comparison to a semi-structured interview. What is more, these methods (i.e. DCT and role-play) have been found effective in investigating communicative acts Sasaki (1998), Kasper (2000) and Al-Adaileh (2007), so this study examines their efficiency in communicating gratitude, in particular. They were deemed suitable for the present study, not because they are perfect research instruments, but because they are reliable enough to enable the collection of data which is sufficiently accurate for testing the hypotheses under investigation.

1.4 Research approach

The comparative investigation of the relation between language and culture in the linguistic communication of gratitude in specific cultures can be thought of as faced with three major tasks: collecting the data, describing the data and explaining the data. This study has addressed each of these tasks in ways which, despite some limitations, lead to interesting insights and suggest directions for further research.

The collection of the data was systematic as it involved responding to the same set of social scenarios using mixed methods. Mixed methods use was adequate to allow cross-cultural comparison and it has the potential to enable gathering more authentic data, expand understanding and confirm the findings from different data resources. This facilitates triangulation, which in turn allows the researcher to assess the sufficiency and adequacy of the data, thus adding to the reliability of the findings. As Cummings and Beebe (2006:81) recommend, researchers should "gather data through multiple approaches, since each approach has its own strengths and weaknesses". Using mixed methods could surpass limitations of all other methods, facilitate finding a convergence point across quantitative and qualitative methods, and enhance the validity of the results (Creswell, 2009). The main shortcoming of the approach adopted in the present study is that the data is not naturally occurring, but obtaining enough naturally occurring data while

keeping the relevant variables under control would not be feasible given the time and the resources available for the present study.

It is also worth noting here that the present study aims to avoid the limitations of previous pragmatics research instrument validation studies in a number of ways: it employs the within-subject approach to an account of the participants' intra-variations. The data gathered in other studies are not sufficiently comparable as they were collected from different participants with various cultural backgrounds, mother tongue, and education, though these variables may affect the findings (Yamashita, 1996). Alderson et al. (1995) argue that using the same participants for both instruments is essential for checking the reliability and validity of these methods as evaluation measures. Moreover, situations used for both DCTs and role-plays in most studies were often not suitable for all types of respondents (e.g., students were put in situations such as playing the role of a manager hiring employees (see Hudson et al. (1995).

Another significant difference between most previous studies and the present study concerns the use of different research instruments for collecting data from different languages in conducting comparative cross-cultural research. To be more specific, most studies compare the participants' performance in their native language using one research instrument with their performance in the second language using data obtained by means of another research instrument. For validating the research instruments, it is necessary that the performance of the participants is conducted either in their native language or their second language using the same research instruments and analysed separately for each group.

In the present study, the data were classified into strategies and sub-strategies, as this enables the researcher to make generalisations about the patterns of language use in expressing politeness linguistically (i.e. Jordanians use the same strategies in some situations, but not in others. This generalisation may be interesting, because it raises the question of why these similarities and differences occur). The methodology is considered further in Chapter Three.

The description of the data has led to conclusions about the strategies used to express gratitude and about the ways these are related to culture as an explanatory variable. It is also valuable to find out how both cultures perceive the communication of gratitude because we cannot have a complete picture of the linguistic communication of gratitude without data about the interactants' perceptions relating to this communicative act, as communication involves the planning, the production, the reception and the interpretation of behaviour. Insights into differences between the pragmatic research instruments were also gained. In light of the fact that cultures share some broad features (i.e. representations) which are dynamically constituted as the outcome of people's interaction over time, I followed an interactional bottom-up model rather than a top-down constraint model of culture in analysing the data. Analysing the data was based on the evaluations made by the participants of their interaction instead of social constraints on their freedom of action because people's judgements on what counts as polite or impolite are constantly negotiated. Thus, they ultimately change over time across social interaction situations. The participants were asked about their evaluations and perception of what is polite and impolite regarding the communication of gratitude and what are the contextual and social variables that might influence their judgment and perception and in what ways. The data description and analysis do not depend on a theoretical model which includes an explanatory account of culture and the notions of sharedness or normativity.

A further illustration of the findings is provided in Chapter Four. The principle known as Occam's Razor[10], according to which, other things being equal, the simpler explanations are preferred to more complex ones has been adopted. The data were interpreted by drawing on the minimal number of variables (face

[10] Stork, D. Foundations of Occam's razor and parsimony in learning. NIPS 2001 Workshop 2001. http://www.rii.ricoh.com/stork/OccamWorkshop.html.

concerns, power, distance, formality, weighting of imposition and a few others) which provide the basis for a plausible explanation for the data.

The study has a very important theoretical aspect. The communication of gratitude is sensitive, being viewed as face-threatening by Brown and Levinson (1987) because it involves a degree of imposition. However, Brown and Levinson (1987) suggested concepts like face and deference, without considering the fact that the connotations and pragmatic meanings of such concepts vary from culture to culture and one language to another. They label speech acts as intrinsically positive or negative, assuming that what does/does not constitute a threat to the hearer's or the speaker's face is identical across cultures (see Section 2.4.2). Although the cross-cultural applicability and the theoretical content of the concept of 'face' are controversial, this concept is seen useful for the qualitative interpretation of the data.

Cultural beliefs, values and attitudes, which are heavily institutionalised in societies, have also provided insights on fruitful ways to analyse the data. These play a major role in determining how people feel about each other in particular situational settings and how they behave linguistically under the influence of considering the socio-contextual variables (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Fraser, 1990). A detailed illustration of these concepts and their relation to the present study is presented in Chapter Five.

The research aims have been addressed through the systematic collection, description and explanation of the data in a way which points to interesting directions for future research, as argued in Chapter Six.

1.5 The significance of the study

The most important general aim of this study is to cast some light on the differences between the cultures of Jordan and England by focusing on the communication of gratitude. The main empirical merit of the study is that the strategies Jordanians use for conveying gratitude are identified for the first time

and contrasted with those used by the English. The main explanatory value of the study is that it provides new insights into the linguistic behaviour involved in the communication of gratitude in Jordan and England by focusing on a small number of universal theoretical concepts and seeks to explain the observed cultural differences in terms of different culture-specific values placed on a small number of variables, including: positive and negative face[11], degree of imposition, power, distance and formality.

The study aims to make a substantial contribution to knowledge by enriching the growing body of comparative cross-cultural research, especially that which is couched in terms of speech act theory, as the comparison of two markedly different cultures such as those of Jordan and England can provide valuable insights into theoretical issues concerning the nature of communicative acts, the relation between types of communicative acts and the general principles of human communication, the social implications conveyed by performance as well as the relation between the culture-specific and the universal features of communicative acts types. The study casts new light on the sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic aspects[12] of the pragmatic competence of native speakers of Jordanian Arabic and British English, in a way which has the potential to provide the basis for better teaching and learning materials and strategies aimed at reducing the risk of miscommunication in intercultural communication situations between Jordanian and English participants.

[11] The term 'positive face' refers to a person's need and the consent to be accepted, liked, and understood by others (i.e. self-image is acknowledged and appreciated by others), whereas negative face stands for the desire not to be imposed on and to be autonomous (i.e. freedom of action and freedom from imposition) (Brown and Levinson, 1987:562). More elaboration of positive face and is provided in section 2.4.1.3.

[12] Pragmalinguistic aspect signifies the awareness of suitable language forms and communicative strategies which influence their pragmatic functions, whereas sociocultural aspect is the ability to assess the contextual features of communication by taking into consideration the suitable and polite schemata of particular speech acts as well as language performance in a specified culture (Bachman, 1990).

The study attempts to draw connections among the perceptions about and the performance of the linguistic communication of gratitude. This provides a more multi-dimensional perspective as it gives an insight into the thought patterns or cognitive styles of the subjects. The inclusion of the perception aspect in the study informs us about what the participants believe, and what they might do, and what the causal connection between their beliefs and their communicative actions is. The opportunity to examine the production and perception simultaneously in the same study has enabled the researcher to identify the aspects of the participants' communicative behaviour which are culture-specific and are likely to be the loci of miscommunication in intercultural social interaction.

Expressing gratitude is especially significant as a part of the speakers' pragmatic repertoire, since it is an extremely common communicative act which plays an essential role in maintaining positive rapport. As Coulmas (1981) observes the communication of gratitude is likely to be encountered in a wide variety of situations. Investigating who expresses gratitude to whom, how and in what social contexts will improve our understanding of people's culture, social values, as well as the functions and meanings of these linguistic actions in a given community (see Nattinger and DeCarrico, 1992; Lewis, 1993).

The study is expected to be of a great enrichment to the applied linguistics field. It is pertinent and applicable to teaching English to Jordanian speakers of Arabic and Arabic to speakers of other languages specifically English. It will benefit teachers and administrators as its findings will enable and motivate them to update their existing curricula and develop new instructional plans and curricula taking into account what is new in research. Validating the pragmatic research instruments could help in better achievement of these studies' objectives besides gaining valid and reliable results. It particularly gives us a hint about their applicability to account for similar types of such cross-cultural variability in the realisation of communicative acts.

1.6 Overview of chapters

The thesis is organised as follows: Chapter Two reviews the literature on the communication of gratitude in different cultures, the speech act theory, politeness theories, the communication of gratitude as an institution, linguistic ideology and politeness, as well as culture definition, models, universality and specificity. The methodology employed in this study (including the population and subjects, research design and framework, pragmatic research instruments and their rationale, the validity and reliability of the study, the data collection procedure and analysis methods) is described in Chapter Three. Chapter Four presents the study findings, which are analysed and discussed in Chapter Five. A summary of the findings is given in Chapter six which concludes with a brief consideration of the ramifications of the study for the field of social pragmatics and applied linguistics.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter lays the theoretical foundation and framework for the present study. It helps situate the present research in the context of the literature on these related issues (e.g. linguistic politeness, face, institutionalisation, ideology and culture). I try to keep my theoretical commitments to a minimum assuming that the expression of gratitude is a speech act in the sense that it is institutionalised to a greater or lesser extent in the cultures of England and Jordan, people's perceptions relating to the expression of gratitude reflect their underlying ideologies, and that the members of each of the two cultures have similar, rather than identical perceptions relating to the expression of gratitude in some reasonably typical social situations. It should be noted that looking at the expressions of gratitude as a type of speech act or communicative act does not commit me to the theoretical framework of Speech Act Theory as a model for explaining linguistic communication. In designing the research instruments, I have collected data which tells us a great deal about the cultural (i.e. institutionalised) aspects of face in cultures I have investigated, about the ideological assumptions relating to the expression of gratitude in relation to debts, obligations relating to debts, and 'repayment', and about the theoretical implausibility of the view that particular types of speech acts are inherently face-threatening.

Since there are no previous studies on gratitude expression in the culture of Jordan and most studies in cross-cultural pragmatics compare the English culture with other cultures, previous studies have been categorised into those conducted on

English and other cultures and those on Arabic cultures as in Section 2.2.2. The studies have been categorised further into cross-cultural and intercultural (where cross-cultural studies focus on similarities and differences between cultures, intercultural studies investigate situations of communication between members of different cultures). Some important social and contextual variables that might affect the choice of gratitude expression strategies (and are related to this research) are introduced along with the relevant theoretical concepts and frameworks, including those of speech act theory and politeness theory (Sections 2.3 and 2.4) respectively. The linguistic and politeness ideologies are discussed in Section 2.5. Culture definition, models, universality and specificity are illustrated in Section 2.6. The communication of gratitude and institutionalisation are considered in Section 2.7. A summary of the chapter is provided in Section 2.8.

2.2 The communication of gratitude

Among the communicative goals we achieve on a daily basis, Eisenstein and Bodman (1986:167) consider expressing gratitude as an event which is "used frequently and openly in a wide range of interpersonal relationships". Leech's (1983:104) definition characterises gratitude expression as a 'convivial' speech act, which is inherently courteous, respectful, or polite. It is viewed as an expressive act supported by polite communicative behaviour and enables the hearer to recognise the speaker's intention, and strengthen positive politeness (Leech, 1983; Eelen, 2001; Watts, 2003).

Haverkate (1988:391) views expressing gratitude as a reactive action serving "the particular purpose of restoring equilibrium in the cost-benefit relation between speaker and hearer". Though his perspective is useful, it still misses the idea of mutual collaborative work between the interlocutors. The present study assumes that expressing gratitude is a communicative action where the communicators collaborate on achieving a shared goal: of the successful communication of gratitude episode and the social effects which depend on it. People generally depend on cooperation for various social activities, including communication. Effective co-operation is possible only in an atmosphere of mutual trust. To

communicate gratitude is to acknowledge one's indebtedness to another person or persons (and maybe also repay the debt or commit oneself to repaying it). People who do acknowledge their debts (and are prepared to repay them) are trustworthy. Those who do not, are not. So it seems plausible to argue that by communicating gratitude people establish, maintain and strengthen mutual trust, which is of a vital importance for all joint, cooperative tasks, including communication. For this reason, it is actually in one's interest to express gratitude whenever it is justified to expect it.

2.2.1 The importance of the communication of gratitude

Research highlights the frequent communication of gratitude in everyday life and its importance in engendering feelings of cordiality and solidarity among the members of society and keeping their bonds strong and well-cemented (Jung, 1994; Kumar, 2001; Intachakra, 2004). Failure to convey gratitude adequately can have negative consequences (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986; Kumar, 2001). Coulmas (1981) emphasises the idea that expressing gratitude is based on echoing sincerity as a result of the benefactors' actions. Escandell-Vidal (1996) argues that it can be incorporated into what are called "social norms". Expressing gratitude satisfies the face wants of both the speaker and the hearer. On the other hand, any failure in expressing gratitude could engender the risk of being deemed impolite. Thus, it is not surprising that the communication of gratitude has been the focused on in primary education (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986, 1995; Hinkel, 1994). Conveying gratitude serves a societal function. In order to be able to communicate gratitude successfully, people should not only know the semantic formulas essential for expressing gratitude, but they should also acquire, understand and observe the rules for communicating it in the target language culture (i.e. the appropriate time and way to use such polite formulas) (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984). The present study is concerned with English and Jordanians' realisation and perception of the communication of gratitude.

2.2.2 Previous studies on the communication of gratitude

In view of its social significance and compared to other communicative acts, gratitude has not been investigated extensively. Research has revealed the communication of gratitude as a universal and culture-specific communicative act. Cultural differences have been found in the communication of gratitude (Clankie, 1993; Aston, 1995; Koutlaki, 2002; Intachakra, 2004; Cheng, 2005; Hickey, 2005; Farnia and Suleiman, 2009). Most studies have followed a sociopragmatic approach illustrating the cross-cultural and intercultural pragmatic differences, as well as the influence of social and contextual variables such as social status (power), social familiarity (distance), degree of imposition (greatness of the favour) and many others on the way people convey gratitude.

It is noteworthy that most studies used the term 'thanking' for the speech act of thanking and as a cover term for all strategies for communicating gratitude, which seems misleading. Expressing gratitude is much broader, complex and more interesting than the speech act of thanking, which is often performed merely to show that the speaker is willing to observe a social norm. For this reason, a person who wants to communicate gratitude usually uses some other strategies (in addition to thanking). The present study is interested in the communicative goal of expressing gratitude for beneficial actions of others which can be realised by means of a variety of speech acts (including thanking).

2.2.2.1 Studies on the communication of gratitude within English and other cultures

The following sections show the classification of expressing gratitude-based studies we have adopted before setting out to analyse gratitude expressions cross-culturally, as realised in the cultures of England and the Jordan.

- **Cross-cultural pragmatics studies**

Most cross-cultural and intercultural pragmatics studies which consider English and Anglo-American as the target language assume that thanking and gratitude

expression are closely related (Eisenstein and Bodman 1986, 1993; Hinkel, 1994). Hinkel (1994) indicates that in English speaking cultures (UK and USA), "thanks can express gratitude, an intention to express gratitude, or fulfil a social expectation that gratitude be expressed", though politeness norms are not controlled by other features of the situation such as "indebtedness, social status and reciprocity, gender, or age" (76). According to Van Ek (1977), as cited in Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986), the word "thank you" expresses an emotional attitude along with many other phrases that may also be used by people in thanking. Eisenstein and Bodman (1993: 64) also presume a very close relationship among thanks and gratitude, despite the identified underlying rules that are often unobserved by speakers:

> Most native speakers of English on a conscious level associate the expression of gratitude with the words 'thank you'; however, they are unaware of the underlying complex rules and the mutuality needed for expressing gratitude in a manner satisfying to both the giver and recipient.

Aijmer (1996) differentiates between simple and intensified thanking expressions. While simple thanking involves phrases like thanks or thank you, the intensified ones are generally boosted by intensifying adverbs such as thanks a lot, thank you so much, thanks/thank you very much (indeed), thanks awfully, etc. Gratitude expressions can also be intensified by ''compound thanks'' which are ''combinations of different thanking strategies'' (Aijmer, 1996:48). As an example, speakers may express gratitude to the addressee or his/her act such as (thank you, that's kind of you), or (thank you, that's lovely) etc. Aijmer demonstrates that the intensified "thanks/thank you" has the following attributes: on a formal level, it expresses genuine gratitude, is recognised with a falling tone, and is acknowledged by 'that's OK'. Thanking is expressed intensively for receiving great favours (e.g. invitations, generous offers, and major services) in homes and on societal occasions through elaborate use of language to show explicitly the high level of the speaker's indebtedness to the hearer.

In contrast to the intensified "thanks/thank you", the ''simple thanks/thank you'' has the following attributes: on the formal level, it is used to fulfil closing, phatic, politeness purposes and acceptance, is recognised by a stereotype or rising tone, is acknowledged by 'you're welcome', or 'that's okay' and it generally takes place in telephone endings. Simple thanking is expressed for receiving small or insignificant favours (e.g. closing telephone discussions or calls, returning compliments, and receiving a small gift/favour) in homes or at work, among friends. Leech (1983) emphasises that through using such intensified gratitude expressions, positive politeness (i.e. expressing solidarity and maintaining a positive self-image that the hearer claims for himself/herself indicating that the speakers want what the hearer wants (Brown and Levinson, 1987)[13] is achieved.

On the other hand, Leech (2007) differentiate between informal gratitude expressions such as "thanks" and "thanks a lot" and formal ones such as "thank you", "thank you so much", "thank you very much", "I'm very grateful", and "that's very kind of you". Likewise, Quirk and Crystal (1985:852) itemise the most familiar thanking expressions in English as follows: many thanks, thanks (very much), cheers, thank you (very much), thanks a lot, and ta (British English slang). This classification of thanking expressions alongside other additional devices like intensifiers, combined with other discourse elements, repetition and prosody is a main theme in the related literature (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993: 67).

Through sociological studies of gift-giving as well as gratitude in Dutch societies, Komter (1996, 2004) recognises the relation between the notions of reciprocity and gratitude. She indicates that "gratitude is the in-between connecting gift and return gift. Together, the three elements of gift, gratitude, and counter gift form the chain that constitutes the principle of reciprocity" (Komter 2004: 210). It should be taken into consideration that gratitude expressions do not occur in the same situations in all cultures. Although expressing gratitude is very common in the English culture among family members, friends and participants in service

[13] Further explanation of positive politeness and negative politeness is provided in Section 2.4.1.3.

encounters, it is not the case in other cultures. The best example is Apte 1974's study of South Asian Languages, namely, Hindi and Marathi. The results revealed that any expression of thanking among family member could be viewed as ungratefulness or even an insult, because they believe that they should not be thanked for any type of action which it was their duty to perform, rather than being a favour. This indicates that thanking expression is very strongly related to indebtedness. Apte (1974:75) also adds "verbalisation of gratitude indicates a distant relationship".

Goffman's (1967) reflection on this point shows that the combined influence of the rule of self-respect and consideration of others is represented by peoples' tendency to conduct themselves during a social encounter so as to maintain both their and their interlocutor's face. However, in some cultures and specific situations (e.g. within Japanese family communities and close societies of youths), expressing thanks is not a major concern (Ohashi, 2008a; 2008b). Another clear and distinct example of different perspectives regarding thanking is Spain. Hickey (2005) found that shop assistants, administrators, family members, public transport officials and doing one's job even if it is difficult do not require expressing thanks. Pablos-Ortega (2010) also supports Hickey's results by stating that some specific types of actions do not necessitate expressing thanks in some cultures such as Spain. Likewise, Ervin-Tripp et al. (1995: 64) notice that within eastern cultures, "thanking an insider who would normally give assistance is demeaning to their face and distancing". However, this remark should not be taken at face value. It should be nuanced further by considering the exact definition of an insider on diverse occasions as well as social class differences. In addition, it should be noted that these studies use ideological (stereotypical) assumptions about politeness, gratitude and peoples' attitudes across cultures. These assumptions should be critically challenged rather than adopted, as they may not reflect real life.

Although it seems that the expression of gratitude has a universal function, there are significant cross-cultural differences in the ways gratitude is conveyed and

received. Intachakra's (2004:57) comparison of thanking expressions in Thai and English reveals that both societies express thanking to emphasise the indebtedness between interlocutors and retain "negative face wants" (i.e. the want of every competent adult member that his/her actions be unimpeded by others (Brown and Levinson, 1987), though they differ in the availability of their thanking strategies. Intachakra (ibid: 58) concludes that "Thais may not utter thanks as effusively as the British". Similarly, Cooper (2008) concludes that verbal expression of thanking is used far less by Thai people compared to the Western cultures. Redmond (1998) ascribes this to their preference to doing something to signal their feeling of gratitude instead of mere verbal expressing of thanks (cited in Intachakra, ibid: 58). Thus, compared to Thai culture, it appears that verbalising gratitude is more typical of British culture. However, the conclusion that British culture relies, to a rather considerable extent, on the use of linguistic (i.e. conceptual, cognitive) representations for conveying non-cognitive and affective-emotional representation more than others could be viewed as a stereotype which may not accurately reflect reality. So, this needs to be investigated further.

From a more detailed comparative perspective, Haverkate (1988) states that the speech act of thanking serves the same function in Dutch and Spanish speaking societies. However, they appear to be different in the sense that, Spanish speakers do not express thanking as a routine answer in some interactions such as a seller-buyer, ticket inspector-passenger and waiter-client. In contrast to the Spanish, Dutch speakers are likely to mark orally the social distance between themselves and the interlocutors by expressing thanking based on these routine actions. Consequently, some misinterpretation and intercultural misunderstandings may occur since Dutch natives may consider Spanish speakers' behaviour (not expressing thanks in some interactions such as a seller-buyer) to be impolite, while it is considered normal by Spanish speakers who may regard Dutch speakers' thanking as hypocritical, exaggerated, or insincere. In particular, they express thanks for a personal favour, as opposed to a service that it is someone's duty to perform (say, because it is part of his/her job) (Hickey, 2005).

Ohashi (2008b) illustrated and compared natural thanking episodes amongst Japanese university students with their conventional thanking ritual (o-rei). The results exhibited the varied and changing Japanese thanking repertoire where some innovative speech expressions were employed. O-rei was found to be an aspect of Japanese specific culture norms in thanking episodes, whereby benefactor and beneficiary attempt to achieve a symbolic settlement of the debt-credit equilibrium. In the debt-credit equilibrium, the beneficiary insisted on investing in thanking and/or apology speech formulae to recompense his/her debt incurred as a result of receiving a gift/favour. The benefactor, meanwhile, attempts to minimise the imbalance by denigrating the gift/favour giving. Both benefactor and beneficiary, then, jointly created this highly conventionalised o-rei ritual. Such orchestrated balancing acts continued until the benefactor changed the topic. Thus, the prolongation of 'arigatōgozaimasu' (thanking speech formula) or 'sumimasen' (apology speech formula) conversational pairs could be common. In another study, Ohashi (2010) investigated the way bows (formal lowering of the head or upper body) and other linguistic features were incorporated into organising a conversational thanking episode in Japan. The data revealed the difference between situations where there was no debt-credit balance communication practice and those where there was. For example, bows with key speech semantic formulae which acknowledge debt were systematically entrenched in Japanese conversational organisation. The exchange of a bow with 'ie ie' ('no, no') between interlocutors was found to play down the credit which results in balancing the debt-credit equilibrium. Overall, the Japanese bow was found to be an essential and highly predictable body movement in thanking in Japan for balancing debt-credit and face-maintenance [14].

Many studies (Coulmas, 1981; Ide, 1998; Kumatoridani, 1999; Kotani, 2002) have revealed that there is a link between expressing thanks and apologies in some situations. This is referred to by (Coulmas, 1981:73) as 'apologetic thanks'. For example, anyone might respond to receiving a big favour by saying "this is

[14] Face-maintenance is maintaining the "public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 61).

kind of you, I am very sorry for taking too much of your time" (Coulmas, 1981: 73). It is well recognised in the literature that Japanese speakers face certain difficulties in English with expressions of thankfulness that entail indebtedness (Beebe and Takahashi, 1989). The confusion is caused by the Japanese expression "sumimasen" which is utilised in both apology and thanking contexts (Coulmas, ibid; Ide, 1998; Kotani, 2002). They confuse ''thank you'' with ''I'm sorry'' due to negative transfer (i.e. the projection of first language-based sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic knowledge onto second language contexts where such projections result in perceptions and behaviours different from those of second language users (Kasper and Schmidt, 1996:155), because both of these meanings are encoded in the same lexical form in their native language. As an example provided by Ide, 1998, Japanese 'sumimasen' is suitable when used by a student who is late for a meeting with a lecturer as it might serve an expression of gratitude and an apology. These two expressions are similar in the sense that they imply the indebtedness as thanks is expressed to show a speaker's indebtedness for receiving a benefit, and apology is expressed to show speaker's indebtedness to the addressee for performing an action harmful to the hearer Coulmas (1981).

Kumatoridani (1999) justifies the alternation among the expression of gratitude ('arigatoo': Thank you) and apology ('sumimasen': I'm sorry) by the Japanese speakers by the empathy focus which shifts from the speaker to the addressee. The alternation between both expressions (i.e. arigatoo and sumimasen) is influenced by affection and the role-relationship factors. Both speech acts can be used successfully for the same event. In addition, this co-occurrence phenomenon occurs because of the different discourse functions that these two speech acts assume. Sumimasen is mainly related to the determination of an event either as pleasing-to-speaker or offensive-to-hearer, and the necessity showing empathy whereas Arigatoo is mainly concerned with the problem of how an interaction can be initiated or ended Kumatoridani (ibid,1999). Thus, it could be stated that both speech acts are concerned with the showing empathy and discourse-organisational motivation since they are concerned with the difficulty of how to start and end an exchange.

Lebra (1976: 75) ascribes the unwillingness of the Japanese speakers to verbally express thanks to "the fear of inducing indebtedness". The mutual conversational burden on interlocutors is considered of a great importance in interactions between the Japanese speakers, as they need to take into account theirs and the hearer's indebtedness. This is due to the fact that they consider receiving a favour as an intrusion on the speaker which necessitates acknowledging their indebtedness to him/her. Thus, they tend to convey their indebtedness in such situations rather than expressing gratitude directly which is expected in western cultures. Correspondingly, Chinese speakers can express gratitude by showing one's discomfiture for causing the interlocutor more effort or taking extra time with an apology (Cheng, 2005). Likewise, Korean speakers' apologies can be employed as expressions of gratitude (Jung, 1999). However, regardless of interoperability between thanks and apologies by Japanese, Chinese, and Korean speakers, using apology expressions in thanking situations in English may be relatively restricted (Nakia and Watanabe, 2000). In other words, its frequency might be less than them and it might not always be employed in all gratitude situations. So, compared to the English speakers, Japanese, Chinese, and Korean speakers communicate gratitude indirectly by communicating indebtedness directly.

Tames (1978:109) illustrates the differences between the English and Japanese speakers' expression of thanking by the following example: "where the English say I'm sorry, Japanese say 'I can never pay; the Japanese Hello is literally 'Excuse me' and 'thank you is 'I feel ashamed'". Similarly, Clankie (1993: 38) added that in specific situations where expressing thanking was anticipated, expressing regret was elicited instead and where expressing regret was anticipated, expressing thanking was elicited instead amongst English and Japanese speakers. Therefore, he concludes that "expressions of gratitude and regrets fall into the grey area in which they may be used interchangeably under certain cultural circumstances in both languages" (Japanese and English). This indicates that gratitude and regret expressions might not be used differently by Japanese and English speakers. However, this indicates that the differences in

using both thanking and apology in both languages could be ascribed to the differences in perception and interpretations of beneficial acts and culture-specific background (Chang, 2008) which needs to be explicitly defined. Columas (1981:69) argues that “if we know how to say I’m sorry in another language we still don’t know when and to whom we should say it according to the norms of interaction of the respective community”. This is exactly what Eisenstein and Bodman (1986; 1993) found with respect to the difficulty of communicating gratitude. Kotani (2002) points out that apology--thanks interchangeability conveys a complex feeling of both indebtedness and gratitude as well as about placing a burden on co-interactants. However, because of English speakers’ assumptions about the cultural connotation of "I'm sorry" as acknowledging accountability and suffering, English speakers may understand using "I'm sorry" which does not echo the speaker's sentiment of accountability in serious contexts as being dishonest.

Coulmas (1981: 74) views every genuine expression of gratitude as correlated with a beneficial action or its results. This is termed “the object of gratitude”. He indicates that expressions of gratitude often appear as functional lexical chunks such as “thanks” and “thank you”. Coulmas (ibid: 74) describes thanking expressions based on their various properties: requested vs. not requested; real vs. potential; indebting vs. not indebting; and material vs. immaterial as follows:

Thanks for some action initiated by the benefactor

Thanks for some action resulting from a request/wish/order by the beneficiary

Thanks ex ante (for a promise, offer, invitation)

Thanks ex post (for a favour, invitation afterwards)

Thanks for material goods (gifts, services)

Thanks for immaterial goods (wishes, compliments, congratulations, information)

Thanks that imply indebtedness

Thanks that do not imply indebtedness

Regarding this taxonomy, the author indicates that all criteria mentioned are not mutually exclusive and they are not definitive as there are other possible criteria such as the weightiness scale[15].

Bach and Harnish (1979) observe that "The existence of the relevant occasion is presumed, not asserted, by the speaker, and it is often unnecessary for him to mention the occasion explicitly: if someone gives you a cigarette, it is enough to say 'thank you'. But if someone sends you a box of cigars, it is necessary to say, when you next see the donor, 'Thanks for the nice cigars' or something to that effect" (Bach and Harnish, ibid: 54). This could be explained in terms of the relevance-theoretic concept of mutual manifestation. Something (e.g. the box of cigars given as a present) is a mutually manifest to two people when it is evident to each of them that it is evident to both. In the first situation described by Bach and Harnish (1979) "Thank you" is sufficient because the speaker can reliably assume that the reason for thanking the hearer (the hearer's action of giving the speaker a present) is mutually manifest to the hearer and the speaker, so there is no need to mention it explicitly. However, in the second situation, the speaker cannot be confident that it is manifest to the hearer which situation has prompted the speaker to thank him. Therefore, the occasion which is being thanked for needs to be mentioned explicitly. Another reason for mentioning the box of cigars explicitly is that it is a more significant present than one cigarette. In fact, if somebody were to send a person a single cigarette as a present, this would be so out of the ordinary, that it would more likely lead to a question about the sender's reasons for his action, rather than any expression of gratitude.

[15]The weightiness scale is based on the speakers since they calculate the weightiness value in light of the social variables such as the apparent social distance between speaker and hearer (D), the power difference between speaker and hearer (P), and ranking of imposition (R) which vary across cultures since they are different in how dangerous or threatening in each culture. These variables do not have any absolute value rather a speaker mainly values them based on the situation and culture subjectively (Brown and Levinson, 1987:74).

Although thanking strategies and appropriate responses vary depending on the type of gratitude object, Coulmas (1981) highlights the significant role of interpersonal relations between the participants in this respect. He adds that the speakers' perceived degree of indebtedness determines the length of thanking expressions. However, the assessments of these factors and what constitutes indebtedness vary cross-culturally. This means that for the communication of gratitude to be successfully achieved, speakers need to consider the context and the social variables which contribute to it.

Cross-cultural variation could be caused by different perceptions and interpretations of the beneficial actions based on social and contextual variables. Yang (1986) found, through exploring Korean culture, that social status determines the way people express their feelings of thanks. He showed that thanks were not expected to be expressed as readily by high social status people as by those of a lower social status. Likewise, in Indonesian culture, linguistic politeness is less expressed by high social status individuals (Errington, 1984). This was explained by Smith-Hefner (1988) who states that because an individual's perceived social position is habitually bound to age, gender, and self–identity, extremely elaborate and intricate tactical rules control the use of any linguistic politeness marker, and thus the communication of gratitude. Okamoto and Robinson's (1997) study reveals that "thank you" is often used when communicating with high-status interlocutors within a British context (cited in Cheng, 2005: 14).

Furthermore, Eisenstein and Bodman (1986, 1993) reveal that many other functions could accompany the speech act of thanking (e.g. reassuring complimenting, expressing a lack of necessity or obligation, expressing delight and surprise). They also highlight that, based on the situation, English native speakers would consistently use more than one routine and certain semantic information to express their gratitude effectively and that there is no fixed order of gratitude expressions. Moreover, they point out that the length of utterances is a reflection of the degree of indebtedness. This means that the more grateful the

speaker is, the lengthier his/her utterances are. They show that the meaningfulness of the extent of thanks symbolised in (longer speech act sets) depends on the relation between the imposition presented by the favour and the pressures it may put on the social equilibrium, leading to the greater perceived need for thanking. However, in some cases short thanking utterances signify great social distance among the interlocutors. They reveal that the formality of language considerably differs from friendlier or less formal situations and could be expressed nonverbally and by means of marked lexical items. Furthermore, they believe that the consistency in each native group's selection of the expressions signifies that there seem to be a "mutually–shared script" (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986:172).

Rubin (1983) indicates that the more money, effort or time has been invested, and the more the recipient considers the action to be helpful, the longer and the more elaborate gratitude expressions are expected. Similarly, Chang (2008) emphasises that both Chinese and English native speakers are similar in the sense that the greater the degree of imposition is, the greater the degree of appreciation and the higher the benefactors' expectation of gratitude will be. However, the perception of English native speakers about the degree of imposition and the likelihood that the benefactors expect to receive thanking was found higher than Chinese native speakers. Besides, Chang found that English native speakers employed more strategies as a response to their benefactors' expectations. Chinese native speakers were also found more sensitive to relative social power, whereas English native speakers were more sensitive to relative societal distance. These findings imply that social and situational disparities are also significant in investigating peoples' perceptions about the use of communicative acts. Aijmer (1996:70) indicates that "even small favours may result in profuse gratitude depending on the speakers' perception of the extralinguistic situations". In this case, speakers take into account the purpose of thanking and the favour size, the participants' gender and age. In terms of social occasions, thanking is necessary on certain occasions, such as the guests thanking the host after being served a meal, or praising their food while eating or thanking them for hospitality when they leave.

Highlighting the effect of age on expressing thanks, Kim (1994) reveals that Japanese speakers perceive a positive relationship between the age of the hearer and the degree of the thanking or apology. In other words, old people are expected to receive a more intensified degree of thanking or apology compared to young people. Besides, apologetic expressions were preferred instead of pure expressions of thanks. Smith-Hefner (1988) states that Chinese speakers give a great importance for the age of both the speaker and the interlocutor(s). For example, they treat their friends and classmates who are older with respect due to the decisive role of age which determines the degree of politeness.

In another related study, which is also intended to explore the effect of cultural differences on the choice of linguistic expressions while conveying gratitude, Farnia and Suleiman (2009) reveal that American and Iranian participants are similar in the strategy types they use for expressing gratitude but they differ in the frequency of using of these strategies. Compared to the Iranians, American participants use fewer strategies for expressing gratitude. The participants select their strategy according to the social hierarchy variables including social distance and status. Farnia and Suleiman attribute this to the Americans' cultural values of being 'super-egalitarian'. Consequently, they openly and verbally acknowledge gratefulness toward anything done for them. In contrast to the Americans, Iranian participants select their strategy primarily according to the social hierarchical variables including social distance and status among the speakers and their hearer(s), which Beeman (1988) explains as due to Iranian society being non-egalitarian.

Expressing thanking has been found to serve different functions. Overall, Aijmer (1996: 53) provides a summary of the functions of "thanks" or "thank you" in English as follows:

Acknowledging receiving a major favour

Acknowledging receiving a favour as a result of being given something

Assuring an addressee of one's future feeling and attitude

Refusing an addressee's service

Making the addressee feel good when his/her offer/service is dismissed

Answering any query

Accepting the suggestion to end the conversation.

Ending the conversation

Accepting an offer

Irony, sarcasm

It seems from the above functions that not all "thanks" or "thank you" is meant to convey gratitude. This raises the question of what are the criteria for deciding whether an instance of 'thank you' expresses gratitude or serves some other function (or both). The answer to the question can be provided by a theory of the way linguistic forms are interpreted in context (i.e. pragmatic theory). The actual function of these utterances depends on the context in which they are uttered. It is important to note that such functions vary cross culturally and that there are different factors that might influence the thanker's choice of the expression "thank you" to serve a specific function rather than another such as the thanker's age, gender and social distance and power in relation to the thankee. I think an account in terms of relevance theory[16] could be easily given. I also think that this account would go against the strict differentiation between the functions of thanking and would suggest that an utterance of 'Thank you' is relevant in different ways in different contexts. The concepts of degrees of relevance and the concept of 'main relevance' are of a great importance: i.e. it would be possible to

[16] Wilson and Sperber (2003:208) state that "The relevance-theoretic account is based on another of Grice's central claims: that utterances automatically create expectations which guide the hearer towards the speaker's meaning".

argue that in one context 'Thank you' is more relevant in virtue of communicating acceptance, but is also relevant to some, though not to a very significant extent, in virtue of communicating gratitude. In other contexts, the same utterance could be relevant primarily in virtue of communicating gratitude, while also communicating acceptance. For example, I think when somebody lends someone a large sum of money he/she badly needs and he/she says 'Thank you so much; ..... ', he/she is communicating gratitude but also acceptance. The same utterance when used in response to an offer of a piece of baklava, communicates primarily acceptance, and less gratitude. It's all got to do with how the utterance is relevant in context. In the context of a big favour, it's relevant mainly as expressing gratitude. To convey mere acceptance would not be adequately relevant. In the context of an offer of a cake, gratitude is (or at least may be) less relevant than acceptance. This analysis is more natural than an approach in terms of the speech act, which involves rigidly categorising utterance types into speech act types.

In line with this not all thanking expressions serve to communicate gratitude to the speaker for past useful actions (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993). They can also serve to thank the addressee in advance for a coming useful action which may not be recognised later on, such as “ma-fan-ni-le” (i.e. literally means the trouble is on you, ‘cause a lot of trouble to you’) in Chinese language (Chang, 2008: 26). This could be linked to the notion of good will which stimulates expressing thanking before benefiting from the action and in fear of the inability to express it later for various reasons. It is also used to convey irony such as thanking someone for not holding the door open for you (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986). This means that Searle’s (1969) rules (see Section 2.3, page 64) are often broken (Eisenstein and Bodman 1986: 168; Aijmer 1996: 51) or that they do not exist - in the sense that they are not psychologically real. Besides, Hymes (1972, cited in Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993: 65) and Aijmer (1996: 68) found that American English “thank you” tends to be used more as a gratitude expression, whereas British English “Thank you” tends to be more like a formal marker of particular communications more than a real expression of gratitude. Aston (1995) states that “thank you” can be perceived as a conversational closing in British English. Also, this usage

reflects the interlocutors' concerns about conversational management as they need to demonstrate their ultimate alignment to a common point of reference and a mutually acceptable role-relationship. The idea highlights the significance of considering cross-cultural variation in conversation closings which may result in different preferred procedures of managing conversation or the general situation. Rubin (1983) also notes that "thank you" can serve besides expressing gratitude, a compliment response, a sign of rejecting an offer as well as ending a conversation or it can just be bald "thank you" which is a quick, mechanical and typical expression within service situations. Moreover, Koutlaki (2002) found out through her interview and observation of natural data that Persian thanking expressions in service encounters are routine formulas understood as refusing rather than accepting offers. Gratitude is frequently expressed by American speakers of English in rejecting invitations, suggestions and offers but rarely by Egyptian speakers of Arabic (Nelson et al., 1996). This could be explained by Coulmas (1981)'s emphasis on the important role of the intrinsic features of the gratitude object and the interlocutors' social relationship that determine the type of gratitude strategies and the extent to which gratitude should be expressed within a particular context. Variation in this respect is subject to cultural differences.

To sum up the review of cross-cultural studies on the communication of gratitude reveals similarities and differences in the realisation and perception of gratitude across the English language, its culture and others. Most studies on the communication of gratitude have tended to follow a socio-pragmatic approach and the field of research has expanded to explore the influence of social variables such as social power, social distance and the degree of imposition on the way people convey gratitude. Culturally differentiated interactional styles may cause cross-cultural differences in interpreting strategies and leads to intercultural communicative failure. The review also reveals various functions for the expression "thank you" other than expressing gratitude which are subject to cultural variation. A relevance-theoretic approach is a great significance as it explains how one and the same utterance can have several functions and how the

comparative importance of these functions depends on the relevance of the utterance in context. In relevance theory terms an utterance (or other communicative act) provides evidence of the speaker's intention to convey some worthwhile (technically, relevant) information. In this view, the hearer's interpretation of the utterance is a process of forming hypotheses about what the speaker aiming to convey an optimal amount of worthwhile information by that utterance on the particular occasion intended to convey. It follows from this that a given utterance may provide evidence for a whole range of different assumptions all which the speaker aiming to be optimally informative intended to convey. For example, a simple utterance such as 'thank you' may be informative in different ways when uttered on different occasions. In one situational setting it may be more informative in virtue of conveying gratitude for an offer made by the hearer. On another occasion, the utterance may be informative primarily as an act of declining an offer, and only to a far lesser extent (if at all) as conveying gratitude that the offer was made (Sperber and Wilson, 1987; Wilson and Sperber, 2003). It could also be stated that the utterance functions may be institutionalised to a greater or lesser extent as will be pointed out in Section 2.7. The intercultural studies on the communication of gratitude are discussed in the next section.

- **Intercultural pragmatics studies**

An intercultural viewpoint is typically adopted to highlight the difficulties that impede native and non-native speakers to express gratitude to each other in an appropriate and effective way. Eisenstein and Bodman (1986; 1993) found that expressing appreciation is a difficulty not only for native speakers but also for language learners who should know how and when to express thanks in the target culture. The difficulty resides in how and when expressing thanks is considered a proper reaction to a particular social situation (Cheng, 2005:3). According to Eisenstein and Bodman (1986; 1993), and based on the data provided by native speakers of English, the data collected by the learners of English as a second language were rated on a scale ranging from being non acceptable, problematic, acceptable, native like, not comprehensible and resistant. The finding showed that

advanced learners still face difficulty in expressing thanking effectively in a situation which necessitates complex speech acts pragmatically and grammatically, though they showed a high proficiency level in English based on “the traditional measurements” (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986: 176). It was found that they face difficulty at both the pragmalinguistic and the socio-pragmatic levels. It was pragmalinguistic in the sense that they switched from native usage of syntactic and lexical elements, since they were often unable to match their politeness norms and idioms. The socio-pragmatic difficulty was more severe due to the socio-cultural incongruities which cause serious misunderstandings. For example, they faced difficulty most in a “Lunch” situation. Whereas, most native speakers stated in general terms an offer to reciprocate such as ("Thank you very much. Next time it's on me"), non-native speakers rarely did this, although some pointed out in interviews conducted later that they intended to do this but felt it inappropriate and unnecessary. As a result, native speakers felt the responses of non-native speakers were incomplete or lacking the proper level of thanking. Moreover, it was found that, despite living for some time in the United States, the non-native speakers did not acquire the ability to express acceptable as well as native-like gratitude. The non-native speakers ascribe this to the difficulty they face in easily socialising with American native speakers. Consequently, the researchers highlight the necessity to recognise the way the expressing gratitude function is performed in both the native language and other target languages to realise how this function is acquired in a second or a foreign language.

In addition, Eisenstein and Bodman (1993) point out that non-native speakers usually lack the appropriate, sincere and warm tone conveyed of native speakers; nor do they convey appropriately the reciprocity expressed by native speakers. Eisenstein and Bodman state that gratitude expression entails ‘‘a complex series of interactions and encodes cultural values and customs’’ (74). They ascribe this difficulty to cultural confusion of the situation, the familiarity degree as well as the intricacy of the language and its functions in the provided situations. Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) justify this by stating that the socio-linguistic behaviours of the first language and the lexical and grammatical constraints in the

second language influence the language learners' production of proper expression of thanks in a second language.

Similar to the focus of the present study, Cheng (2005) investigates the number and the type of strategies used by Chinese and American English speakers. The data reveal that Chinese and American English speakers use similar gratitude expressions, though Chinese speakers show a high frequency of address terms. In addition, she imputes the greater use of the terms of address to the contextual variables such as social status. Compared to the Chinese, American participants significantly employ more thanking, repayment, and appreciation strategies. In terms of the length of speech (the number of strategies), the study highlights the significant impact of both the degree of the imposition on the favour givers and the social status on the number of strategies employed.

Wong (2010) investigates the functional lexical chunks used for expressing gratitude such as "thanks" and "thank you", in addition to the longer formulaic sequences of gratitude such as "thank you very much". Data collected from the Hong Kong component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-HK) show that Hong Kong speakers of English do not use a wide range of strategies to express thanking. Their gratitude expressions are generally short consisting mainly of "thank you" and "thanks". They are normally employed as conversation closing signals. Repetitive thanking formulae and appreciation expressions of the interlocutors in both single and across turns are extremely infrequent.

Dumitrescu (2005) contrasts the pragmatic competence of native speakers and non-native speakers of Spanish in the United States, especially California. She explores the habitual strategies used for expressing gratitude among Spanish native and non-native speakers in similar situations. Data collected using DCT adapted from Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) provide a functional and structural description of thanking and its responses' linguistic forms. The results reveal that the simple thanking expression is the typical expression of gratitude the informants use (e.g. 'Muchísimas gracias', 'Thanks') in situations where the favour presented is small such as 'passing a paper to someone who was his/her side' to

avoid being wordy and only to show respect for the addressee. The expression of gratitude is intensified to match the size of the favour through one of the following three strategies: 1. quantification (e.g. Muchas/ Muchísimas gracias, Mil/Un millón/Un montón de gracias, Lot / Thank you, Mil / A Million / Lots of thanks); 2. Reiteration and quantification (e.g. "Gracias, muchas gracias, o bien ¡Oh! ¡Gracias! ¡Gracias! ¡Gracias!", 'Thank you, thank you very much, or Oh Thanks, Thanks, Thanks'); 3. Preparation where the expression of gratitude itself appears into a speech act set (i.e. integrated additionally to support speech acts such as compliments (e.g. "Es usted muy amable, Eres un amor, ¡Qué majo eres!, o al objeto de gratitud, por ejemplo ¡Qué bonito suéter! La comida fue deliciosa", 'You're very kind, love you!', 'you are nice, or the object of gratitude', for example 'What a nice sweater', 'The food was delicious'); expressions debt ("e.g. Te lo debo, Le quedo/estoy muy reconocido", 'I owe you, you stay / I am grateful'); several expressions such as pleasure, appreciation or surprise (e.g. "¡Ay! ¡Me encanta!, ¡Justo lo que necesitaba!, ¡Mi color favorito!', 'Oh I love it!, Just what I needed!, My favourite colour!'); or other speech acts dictated by the context, such as promises (e.g. to repay a debt, returning a favour received, to continue a relationship, invite your turn, etc. . , or, more generally, not to forget). Moreover, there are frequent cases where gratitude is followed by a rebuke - sincere or conventional - for the inconvenience incurred by the benefactor (e.g. "No tenías que haberte molestado", 'You should not have bothered), or by expression of some discomfort informants added after thanking his interlocutor when receiving the favour such as being offered a loan of money (e.g.: "Ay, en realidad no me siento muy cómodo en aceptarlo", 'Oh, actually I do not feel very comfortable in accepting it"). In markedly fewer occasions, gratitude is expressed by the performative verb 'thank' and intensified with quantifiers (e.g. "Te agradezco mucho /muchísimo la invitación", 'Thank you so much / very much the invitation'), or, more often, through the strategy of declaring the alleged inability of speakers to find the words appropriate to the situation (e.g. "No sé cómo agradecértelo o Muchísimas gracias, no sabes cómo te lo agradezco", 'I do not know how to thank you and Thank you so much, do not know how I appreciate it'). Moreover, there are also cases in which speakers choose not to use any

expression of gratitude such as to service encounters or routine interactions between people with a lot of mutual trust. Another situation that often lacks expressions of gratitude is the phone call situation, in which only a third of respondents conclude the conversation with formula (e.g. Gracias por llamar, Thanks for calling), which is standard on all telephone interactions business. In the case of receiving a compliment, more than half of the respondents opt to express shock and disbelief, instead of immediately accepting praise: ('¿De veras? ¿En serio?,También tu peinado es muy lindo, o que se lo hizo en la peluquería de la esquina", 'Really? Really?, 'Your hairstyle is also very cute, I have got it done in the salon on the corner'. The data also show evidence of Sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic transfer from English to Spanish in both non-native English dominant and bilingual. For example, in scenario 2 (You board the bus, pay your ticket and sit in a seat near the driver. When approaching your stop, you ring the bell and move toward the exit. The driver stops and opens the door), speaker A (passenger) says "Gracias por me llevar", 'Thank you for taking me' and speaker B (bus driver) says "De nada", 'You're welcome'. Although this seems simply to contain "grammatical" errors this statement is problematic, precisely because the speaker knows what to say, but does not know how to say it as native speakers; and this is precisely the essence of pragmalinguistic error, which distinguishes it from a sociopragmatic mistake, in which the speaker, even when expressed correctly in the second language, says something inappropriate in terms of social and cultural conventions of language question.

Pishghadam and Zarei (2011) investigate Iranian English learners' strategies for expressing gratitude. Data collected by an open-ended DCT show that the learners feel obliged to express appreciation in a form suitable to the favour they receive. The most common strategies are thanking (e.g. "thank you for helping me clean the room") and expressing positive feeling (e.g. "this book was really helpful"). The findings also suggest that female Persian speakers use gratitude strategies more often than their male counterparts. There are significant differences between both genders in terms of the use of thanking strategy (e.g. "thank you for your notice"), expressing positive feeling (e.g. "you are a life saver"), repayment (e.g.

"I am sorry for the problem I have made"), appreciation (e.g. "I appreciate the time you spent for me"), and alerters (e.g. "Sir"). The results indicate that there are not any significant differences between the usage of recognition of imposition (e.g. "I know you are not allowed to give me extra time"), apology (e.g. "I am sorry for the problem I made"), and other strategies (e.g. "has a nice day") between male and female participants.

Ahar and Eslami (2011) examine the strategies English natives and Persian speakers use for expressing gratitude in various situations. The results reveal differences in gratitude expressions among English native speakers and Persian speakers. The analysis of open-ended DCT responses reveals Persian English as a Foreign Language (EFL) learners' sensitivity to social variables namely the size of imposition, or magnitude of the favour and social status. Compared to Persian native speakers, the native speakers do not change their strategy selection based on these social variables as they use relatively short and brief expressions (i.e. simple thanking almost exclusively). The Persian EFL speakers' use of inappropriate strategies for expressing gratitude in English may be ascribed to their sensitivity to these social variables. The Persian EFL speakers' expressions for their boss and their neighbour's son are quite similar with respect to the type and number of strategies employed. This implies that learners transfer some of their First Language (L1) pragmatic norms to their Second Language (L2) use. The findings highlight the necessity of equipping EFL learners with the linguistic strategies that are appropriate to convey the intended meanings in various social contexts.

Cui (2012) investigates the ability of advanced Filipino ESL and Chinese, Korean, Indonesian, and Japanese EFL learners to express appropriately thanking in different situations and differences in expressing gratitude in various languages and cultural backgrounds. The native speaker's data show their use of thanking speech act sets such as promising to repay, expressing a lack of necessity of obligation and complimenting. In addition, their data does not reveal gender differences. The analysis of the learners' DCT reveals that their difficulty in

expressing gratitude successfully is mainly due to the influence of their native language and culture. However, the data from all participants show that the expressions of appreciation are more elaborated particularly when the giver has invested a large amount of time, effort or money, and when the recipient finds the action especially helpful.

From a very interesting intercultural angle, Liao (2013) explores the perception of Chinese EFL learners of the way to make the speech act of thanking acceptable in certain social contexts. The analysis of their spoken discourse based on cultural and cognitive comparative approach reveals their tendency to respond in mute English or Chinglish (i.e. Chinese EFL learners are used to piling thousands of English words in their mind but tend to silence their speech more or less before foreigners or talk in English characterised by the Chinese thinking mode) when thanking English people (Liao, ibid: 71). The results further indicate the insufficiency of Chinese EFL contextual knowledge which has been referred to the lack of authentic context in the foreign language learning environment. The study concludes with the importance of learners' consideration of manipulating their contextual assumptions consciously in specific cross-cultural communicative situations to appropriately choose from the available strategic forms. The appropriate strategic choice needs to be based on the adaptation to the most important parameters in dynamic contexts such as the thankee's psychological state, the objects of gratitude as well as the communicative social context.

In summary, intercultural studies on the communication of gratitude are concerned with measuring non-native speakers' performance in the target language and whether some uses of second/ foreign language are universal, or specific to particular native and target languages or culturally and stylistically (in)appropriate in the target culture. The review of these studies offers perspectives from a variety of insights into the role of a native language in the realisation and perception of the communication of gratitude in the second/ foreign language and sheds further light on the main causes of non-native speakers' pragmatic failure while conveying gratitude in the target language. The

communication of gratitude within Arabic speaking cultures will be discussed in the next section.

2.2.2.2 Studies on the communication of gratitude within Arabic speaking cultures

Similar to the cultures discussed above, expressing gratitude is greatly valued in the Arabic context. El-Sayed (1989) and Samarah (2010) point out expressing gratitude is highly significant in the Arabic culture due to the fact that doing so establishes on-going social reciprocity and group membership between interlocutors, thus a very close strong social relationship. Due to the importance of saving each other's face in Arabic culture[17], adequate expressing of gratitude is highly valued both verbally and nonverbally (Samarah, 2010). In particular, conveying gratitude in most cases signifies indebtedness such as the Arabic expression "Al' ashani" which means "for my sake". However, communicating gratitude without indicating indebtedness "for my sake" signifies that the purpose of exchanging offers as well as gratitude expressions is being involved in a social group (El-Sayed, 1989). Maintaining the etiquette of social interaction requires expressing gratitude for any type of offer or favour. According to Al-Sayed (1989) and Nydell (1987), the point of exchanging gratitude expressions lies in being accepted within a social group instead of emphasis on the reality of the offers. Thus, educating children from early ages to express gratitude whenever required and how and when is of a great importance.

Numerous studies have been conducted to examine various speech act norms and responses to them in Arabic speaking cultures (Nelson, et al., 2002; Al-Falasi,2007; Alharbi and Al-Ajmi, 2008; Nureddeen, 2008; Al-Fattah and Ravindranath, 2009; Sattar et al., 2009; AL-Fattah, 2010; Maalej, 2010; Al-Zumor, 2011; Jebahi, 2011, Eshreteh, 2014), whereas, very few were conducted in the Jordanian Arabic context (Hussein and Hammouri, 1998; Farghal and Al-Khatib, 2001; Al-Issa, 2003; Bataineh, 2006; Al-Adaileh, 2007; Badarneh, 2010;

[17] More elaboration of the concept of face 'الوجه' ''wadʒh' in Arabic which signifies respect, honour, and dignity is provided in Section 2.4.

Al Hammuri, and Smadi, 2011; Al-Shboul, et al., 2012; Ariff and Mugableh, 2013).

To sum up, in view of its comparative significance in social interaction, the communication of gratitude has not been investigated much, especially in Arabic speaking cultures. Only four studies were conducted on Arabic speaking cultures (Hinkel, 1994; Bardovi-Harlig et al., 2008; Al-Khateeb, 2009; Morsi, 2010), but none has been conducted on the communication of gratitude as perceived and performed in the Jordanian Arabic culture. Hence, the present study is an attempt to investigate the perception and realisation of gratitude expression by Jordanian and English people.

- **Cross-cultural pragmatics studies**

Among many speech acts such as apologies, forms of address requests, disagreement, greetings, partings, telephone etiquette and refusals, Hussein (1995) investigates expressing gratitude in the Arabic language. His data analysis reveals the impact of formality of the situation, level of education, age, and the social status on linguistic formulae of each speech act. Hinkel (1994) investigates how native speakers of Arabic learning English as L2 and native speakers of English judge the appropriateness of thanking expressions in English, and how the judgements of these two groups differ. The role-play results reveal considerable variation among the English learners' judgments and those of English native speakers. Significantly, he notes that there is even no correspondent judgment on proper expressions between the groups involved, though there is a great consistency in ranking the proper thanking expressions in each native group. It is suggested that aspects of pragmatics, such as the judgment of appropriate thanking expressions, are not always acquired in real-life interactive situations, but may need to be taught.

Bardovi-Harlig et al. (2008) focused on the use of conventional expressions due to the fact that the strong cultural connections of conventional expressions (e.g. "May God increase your bounty", "thank you very very much" (intensified

thanking)) and their extremely consistent linguistic composition make them a natural area for exploring the impact of the first language because we would expect strong negative transfer from L1. This study examined the realisation of thanking, refusal and apology speech acts among mixed cultural backgrounds, one of them being Arabic. Data were collected via an aural recognition task (computer-delivered production) and an oral production task. The findings highlight that recognition of these conventional expressions is an essential condition for their production but not sufficient. The researchers imputed participants' lower use of these conventional expressions imputes this to the lack of familiarity with some conventional expressions, or overuse of familiar conventional expressions which then decreases the opportunity to develop socio-pragmatic knowledge and thus employ more target-like expressions. Besides, the thanking scenarios were different in terms of the most frequently used conventional expressions by native speakers; where some responses were intensified (e.g. "thank you so much") and others stated the reason for expressing gratitude (e.g. "thank you very much for taking so much time to answer my question"). While the native speakers' expression of gratitude was higher than the language learners' gratitude expression in both thanking scenarios, language learners' gratitude expression was higher in the "Make Up Test"[18] situation. In particular, data showed that the most common conventional expression for native speaker is the expression "Thank you very much". Though learners used 'thanks' and 'thank you', they used considerably fewer conventional formulas typically employed by native speakers, such as "Thank you + intensifier + much". However, the learners did not significantly differ from each other in their conventional expression usage. It was found that there was a positive correlation between the production of all thanking expressions and students' levels.

[18] **Make up situation:** "You have been studying very hard for your test. But on the morning of the test, your alarm does not go off and you oversleep. You ask your teacher for a make-up test. (AO) "Okay. I'll give you a make-up test this time, but don't let it happen again". All the details of these scenarios are provided in (Bardovi-Harlig et al., 2008:118).

Compared to the "Make-up Test" situation, "the Busy Teacher" [19] situation showed rather lower scores for all gratitude expressions in all groups except the Chinese. The native speakers dealt with the two scenarios in similar ways, with high use of thanking expressions such as "Thank you for your help" and "Thanks for your time". As opposed to the absence of differences in the natives' data, the differences found in learner production suggest that they may perceive the illocutionary force differently. In other words, learners may understand the situation, but not perceive it as a thanking situation.

Three situations "Make-up Test, More Food, 5-Minutes Late[20]" showed more cross-cultural variation. It was noticed that in these situations particular pragmalinguistic knowledge, namely (how-to-say-what) seems to restrict the use of conventional expressions. This means that learners are most likely to employ the expression where speech act content and semantic formulas align with and support natives' interpretations of the context. This further highlights the necessity of learning the conventional expressions. On the contrary, it was found that the use of the conventional expressions was also restricted by sociopragmatic knowledge in other situations "Busy Teacher, 25-Minutes Late, and Help at Store" [21] including the identification of situations as culturally suitable

19 **The Busy Teacher situation**: "You stop by your teacher's office to ask a question about the assignment. She takes time to answer your question. You know she is very busy, so before you say good-bye, you say:.…"

20 **5-Minutes Late situation:** "You made an appointment with your teacher. Unfortunately you arrive five minutes late for the meeting. (AO) "Hello. Come on in."

More Food situation: "You are having dinner at a friend's house. Your friend offers you more food, but you couldn't possibly eat another bite. (AO) "Would you like some more?"

21 **25-Minutes Late situation:** "You made an appointment with your teacher. Unfortunately you arrive 25 minutes late for the meeting, and the teacher is already leaving. You say:..."

Help at Store Situation: "You go to a clothing store and you need to find a new shirt. A salesperson approaches you. You don't want the salesperson's assistance. (AO) "Can I help you?"

environments for specific speech acts or supporting moves. The Arabic native speakers strongly used apologies (e.g. I'm sorry if I take your time) in one of the gratitude expression situations (i.e. Busy Teacher) more than other native groups.

In sum, the findings of the above-mentioned studies underscore a set of valuable conclusions. They reveal that there are similarities and differences in the realisation and perception of patterns of gratitude expression cross-culturally. They also show different judgments of what are considered proper expressions of gratitude among the groups under investigation in the situations involved. These differences could be recognised based on the variation among the participants and how often they use particular expressions to express gratitude in certain situations besides their underlying appropriate politeness norms.

- **Intercultural pragmatics studies**

Investigating expressing thanks as a compliment response, Al-Khateeb (2009) compares data collected from Palestinian Arab learners of English from different proficiency levels, gender and specialisations, with data collected from native speakers of English to examine the influence of these variables on pragmatic competence. The DCT's results reveal significant differences between them in relation to the strategies and expressions used due to their cultural backgrounds. Palestinian Arab learners' compliment responses are lengthy which Al-Khateeb ascribes to a general understanding that the longer the response to the compliment, the more sincere it is. Most of the semantic formulas used as compliment responses are religious in content (e.g. Allah yes'edek 'May God make you happy'), (Allah ysallmedeake 'May God bless your hands') because of their strong faith in God. Non-native learners of English literally translate Arabic formulaic expressions when expressing gratitude which are not always appropriate for the compliment given in English though they intend their responses to be polite. According to the Palestinian English learners, it appears that there are significant differences in their realisation of the speech act of

thanking due to their specialisations and proficiency levels, but not gender. However, when it comes to the physical appearances, house decors, clothes, styles, food and diet, women are more sensitive to compliments and thanking responses in such situations.

Very similar to the scope of the present study, Morsi (2010) examines the Egyptian Arabic thanking forms, particularly those containing repetition, and formulaic expressions which may be perceived by other language speakers as "overdone friendliness" or "insincere". In addition, she illustrates various discourses and social functions which expressing thanks serves in Egyptian Arabic. The results reveal that expressing thanks fulfils functions such as communicating indebtedness, leave-taking, appreciation of benefit, and opening and closing a conversation. The findings also show that Egyptian Arabic thanking forms differ considerably from those of English, possibly also those of several other cultures, in specific ways. In particular, in order to express sincere gratitude to the hearer and to be considered polite in Egyptian Arabic, one or more of the following strategies should be used: repetition, redundancy and various formulaic expressions such as explicit thanking ('thanks a million') or more or less implicit expressions of gratitude, such as blessings and supplications ('bless your heart', 'bless your hand', ' May God reward you') or other non- religious expressions such as good wishes ('may we hear good things about you'). All such strategies result in lengthy gratitude expressions. Their variation in the use of gratitude expressions is ascribed to diverse factors that influence the individuals' selection of any or all of such strategies as well as their number, such as their situation, gender, age, and social distance of their hearers. The results reveal a number of gratitude expression strategies such as recognition of the thanking, rejection of the favour, commenting with a compliment, as well as offering further help. What is worth mentioning here is that Egyptian Arabic native speakers use thanking strategies not only to express gratitude and enhance social reciprocity (e.g. "متشكرين على العزومه الجميله دي اوي اوي ، و مش عارفين نقول لكم ايه ", ' muʧakiri:n ʕala: alʕazu:mah aldʒami:lah di: awi: awi: wa muʃ ʕa:rifi:n naqu:l lakum ai:h', 'Thank you for this great dinner treat, we really don't know what to say (i.e. don't know

how to thank you'), but also to perform other conversational functions such as conversational opening "يا عم متشكرين على اللحمه الجميله اللي اشتريناها المره اللي فاتت", ʿ ja: ʕam mutʃakiri:n ʕala: alħmah aldʒami:lah ili: iʃtri:na:ha: almarrah ili: fa:tit', 'Hey there, thanks, we enjoyed the good quality of the meat that we purchased last time, close conversation "طيب طيب انا حمشي بقى,شكرا ياقمر, ربنا يكرمكم على القعده الحلوه" 'tˁjb tˁjb ana: ħamʃi: baqa: ʃukran ja: qamar, rabina: jkrimkum ʕala: alqaʕdah alħilwah', 'Okay. Okay. I have to leave then, Thanks moon for this beautiful sitting, God reward you', and leave-taking "مع السلامه شكرا جزيلا على البطاقه", maʕ alsala:mah, ʃukran dʒazi:lan ʕala: albitˁa:qah', 'Peace be upon you, thank you very much for the card'.

The most recent study tackling this specific area in Arabic culture was conducted by Al-Zubaidi (2011). Similar to the aims of the present study, Al-Zubaidi's study examines Iraqi EFL learners' perception and performance and of the speech act of thanking compared to that of native speakers of American English and Iraqi Arabic to investigate whether there is L1 pragmatic transfer on Iraqi EFL learners' performance and an influence of cultural values and assumptions on their performance. The DCT analysis reveals cross-cultural differences in terms of the production, perception of the expression of gratitude and the socio-contextual variables influencing the groups' production and perception of the communication of gratitude. Regarding the perception of gratitude expression, the three groups follow different patterns in assessing the four perception questions about the degree of gratefulness, the degree of imposition, the likelihood of expected gratitude giving, and the likelihood of expected gratitude responding. With respect to the production of gratitude expressions, the three groups generate relatively similar strategy types with some exceptions and a different number of strategies. Iraqi EFL learners generate a different number of strategies of thanksgiving and responding compared to that of native speakers of American English and Iraqi Arabic. Both the production and the perception are influenced by the socio-contextual variables. Besides, evidence of both pragmalinguistic transfer and sociopragmatic transfer is found in the Iraqi EFL learners' perception and

realization of this speech act due to the influence of cultural values and assumptions.

Table 2.1 shows a comparison of the studies conducted on the expression of gratitude.

Table 2. 1: A comparison of studies conducted on the expression of gratitude

Ref.	Focus	Cultures	Research Instruments
Hymes (1971)	The social purpose of thanking	English	Descriptive analysis
Apte (1974)	Cross-cultural variation	South Asian Languages (Hindi and Marathi)	Sociolinguistic analysis
Searle (1976)	The rules of the thanking speech act	-	Descriptive analysis
Coulmas (1981)	A taxonomy of thanking	European languages and Japanese	Contrastive analysis
Becker and Smenner (1986)	The spontaneous use of thank you as a socioeconomic status, function of sex, and listener status	South Florida	playing a game of receiving a reward

Eisenstein and Bodman (1986)	Cross-cultural variation Pragmatics research instruments comparsion The difficulties impede native and non-native speakers to express satisfactory thanks	English Japanese, Korean, Spanish, Russian Chinese	Role-play, interviews, and written and oral DCT.
Hinkel (1992)	The importance of expressing thanking and the social and cultural variables	American and British	Role-playing
Clankie (1993)	Cross-cultural variation	Japanese and Americans	DCT
Eisenstein and Bodman (1993)	The nature of thanking and the underlying socio-cultural rules	North American	role-play and natural conversations observation
Hinkel (1994)	Cultural differences in attitudes toward the speech act of thanking	English learners of diverse ethnic groups (Spanish, Korean, Arabic, Indonesian, and Chinese)	Role-playing
Aston (1995)	Cross-cultural variation	English and Italian	natural data
Aijmer (1996)	Thanking functions	English	Descriptive analysis

Jacobsson (2002	The speech act of thanking and the associated expressions and functions from a historical viewpoint (from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries)	English	the Corpus of English transcribed or fictional Dialogues
Koutlaki (2002)	Cultural distinctiveness	Persian	interview and observation of natural data
Intachakra (2004)	Cross-cultural variation	Thai and English	Descriptive analysis
Cheng (2005)	-Cross-cultural variation - developmental pragmatics	Chinese and Americans	DCT
Dumitrescu (2005)	Comparing the pragmatic competence	native speaker and non-native of speakers of Spanish in United States (California)	DCT
Nakamura (2005)	Cultural differences in the use of gratitude strategies The impact of length of residence, learning contexts, as well as situational variables was also investigated.	Native German and Japanese speakers.	DCT
Hickey (2005)	Cultural distinctiveness	Spanish	Descriptive analysis

Lin and Yu (2006)	the metapragmatics aspects and the gender differences of the gratitude speech act	Taiwan	DCT
Schauer and Adolphs (2006)	comparing the pragmatics research instruments using the speech act of thanking		DCT and the corpus
Bardovi-Harlig et al. (2008)	The use of Conventional Expressions of thanking and other speech acts	mixed cultural backgrounds one of them was Arabic	aural recognition task (computer-delivered production) and an oral production task
Johansen (2008)	Cultural variation of expressing gratitude Pragmatic transfer	Norwegian EFL learners	DCT
Al-Khateeb (2009)	The influence of proficiency levels, gender, specialisations variables on the pragmatics competence	Palestinian Arabic speakers learners of English and native speakers of English	DCT
Farnia and Suleiman (2009)	Cross-cultural variation	Iranian native speakers of Farsi and American native speakers of English	DCT
Morsi (2010)	Illustration and Analysis of the Egyptian Arabic thanking forms	Egyptian Arabic	Natural data

Wong (2010)	The functional lexical chunks used for expressing gratitude such as “thanks” and “thank you”.	Hong Kong	Corpus
Ahar, and Eslami, (2011)	Cultural variation of expressing gratitude**.** Pragmatic transfer	Persian EFL learners’	DCT
Pablos-Ortega 2011	Classifying the thanking speech act as presented in the teaching and learning textbooks. Exploring their use of thanking formulae.	Spanish	A corpus of 64 course books DCT
Cui (2012)	Gender differences Cultural variation of expressing gratitude Pragmatic transfer	Chinese, Korean, Indonesian, and Japanese EFL FilipinoESL Learners	DCT
Park and Lee (2012)	The use of and response to unsolicited email advertising messages	Koreans and Americans	Discourse analysis
Liao (2013)	The perception of Chinese EFL learners of the appropriate speech act of thanking Pragmatic transfer	Chinese EFL Learners	Discourse analysis

To sum up, the review of some previous studies reveals some important and useful issues to the present thesis about the communication of gratitude. The studies reveal various forms and strategies of expressing gratitude and culture-specific features of language which influence the ways in which people express gratitude to each other. In addition, the types of strategies the thankers resort to when conveying gratitude are influenced by social and situational factors. Most non-native speakers of a certain language tend to communicate gratitude in line with the sociopragmatic rules used in their first language. Overall, the review highlights the importance of investigating cross-cultural differences in a way the communication of gratitude is realised and perceived because such differences can result in misunderstandings and even in misjudgements about the sincerity of speakers from another culture.

However, it is worth noting here that most of the studies reviewed rely heavily on describing cultures and analysing politeness norms of expressing gratitude in light of stereotypical views of politeness. Stadler (2011), for example, states that stereotypical views of politeness originate from "members' generalisations (i.e. what members of a group claim to do in relation to politeness). She contends that such stereotypes are not necessarily reflected in real interactions, and so "a thoroughgoing critique of stereotypical views and a more 'local' focus on the norms within particular communities of practice" is required. Further elaboration of politeness theories as well as linguistic and politeness ideology in relation to gratitude is provided in Section 2.4 and 2.5 respectively.

Having reviewed the literature on the communication of gratitude, we will move to the next chapter where we discuss speech acts which have been the central unit of analysis in cross-cultural pragmatics research due to the fact that comparing speech acts cross-culturally has revealed that the same speech act may be differently realised across cultures based on specific speech community norms (Coulmas, 1981; Wierzbicka 1985; Wolfson 1990; Nelson et al., 1996).

2.3 Speech act theories and the social functions of language

One major feature of pragmatics is studying speakers' appropriate production and comprehension of speech acts. A speech act is an utterance which has a performative function in speech and communication. Speech act theory arose as a reaction against the truth conditional approach to meaning developed within positivist philosophy of language (Vanderveken, 1990; Miller, and Miller, 1998). The speech act theory is concerned with explaining linguistic meaning in terms of the use of words, sentences and utterances in various speech acts (e.g. requesting, asserting, thanking, promising, questioning, etc.) (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). Speech act theory correctly challenges the truth-conditional theory of meaning[22]: there is much about linguistic meaning that cannot be captured in terms of truth-conditions. Austin objected: "...that the business of a 'statement' can only be to 'describe' some state of affairs or to 'state some fact', which it must do either truly or falsely", rather he argues it is not possible to determine the truth of some utterances such as "You are brilliant" and " I promise to help you with your work" as they could be either true or false in light of the real world (i.e. whether the person really is brilliant or not (i.e. used for irony) or is helping in the future or not).Therefore, the truth conditions of these utterances cannot be established and may or may not be sincere and any attempt to ascertain their veracity is useless because they are neither true nor false. Austin distinguishes between constatives (i.e. utterances whose truth value can be determined) such as "It is raining" and performatives (i.e. utterances whose truth value cannot be determined are used to perform an act) such as 'I apologise for hitting you'. This indicates that Austin places the argument on "meaning" into the perspective of language use.

The concept of speech act was first coined by Austin (1962) who stated that words are in themselves actions. In other words, he defines them as utterances a speaker produces to do something or in order to get others to do something, not merely saying something. Austin (ibid) states that the speech acts in English are named

[22] The meaning of a sentence can be defined by verifying it as true; otherwise it is cognitively meaningless (Schiffrin, 2005:30).

after the verbs that carry their semantic connotations such as thanking, compliment, request, and apology. The speech act concept implies that, though the number of utterances in a language is unlimited, people utilise these notionally infinite utterances to achieve a finite set of purposes which are called speech acts. According to Austin's theory, these acts can be divided into three constituents:

(i) Locution is the basic act or the performance of an utterance. It is the actual meaningful linguistic expression and its ostensible meaning.

(ii) Illocution is the intended meaning of an utterance as a socially appropriate verbal action. In other words, it is the meaning or the function that the communicator intends to convey by the utterance.

(iii) Perlocution is the actual effect of an utterance that the communicator wants to exercise over the addressee, such as convincing, enlightening, inspiring, or otherwise getting the addressee to do or realise something, whether intended or not (Cohen, 2006).

This classification shows Austin's differentiation between three aspects of every performance of a particular utterance: what a speaker says and what he/she wants to carry out by saying this (i.e. the force behind the utterance) and the consequences impact of the given utterance. These concepts are important in relation to the present study because gratitude is conveyed linguistically (i.e. Locution) both in order to convey some information (i.e. with an illocutionary intention in mind) and also to achieve a particular type of effect on the hearer (i.e. with a perlocutionary effect). For instance, in saying 'thank you', one is not merely stating something, but performing an act of expressing gratitude, as well making the hearer feel satisfied that their favour has been acknowledged. In fact, we assume that the good social feeling factor is a kind of perlocutionary effect conveyed through the hearer's recognition of the illocutionary intention of the speaker and the hearer's acceptance of that intention. In a broad sense, speech act theory aims to explicate speakers' ways to utilise language to accomplish the intended actions and hearers' ways to realise the utterance's intended meaning.

Among the three constituents, it is the illocutionary act that has been extensively considered in pragmatics research. Illocutionary acts are strongly linked with the concept of illocutionary force, "the communicative plan or design behind a speaker's remark" (Leech, 1983: 200). Austin's work culminated in his taxonomy of speech acts, in which he distinguishes five general classes of speech act according to their illocutionary force namely verdictives, exercitives, commissives, behabitives, expositives (Austin, 1962). Searle (1976) criticises Austin's taxonomy of speech acts arguing that it is a classification of English illocutionary verbs rather than illocutionary acts. This classification shows Austin's assumption that non-synonymous verbs must signify different illocutionary acts. His assumption appears to be incorrect as some verbs mark the manner in which an illocutionary act is executed (e.g. the verb 'announce' which is not only used for an announcement, rather it can be used for announcing reports, orders, and promises. Although announcing is not the name of the type of illocutionary act, rather it is a way through which certain types of illocutionary acts are performed. Searle (ibid) adds that not all of the verbs mentioned are illocutionary verbs (e.g. 'intend' which is obviously not performative), the taxonomy is formulated based on a clear or consistent principle, there is a confusion between illocutionary verbs and illocutionary acts (e.g. the verbs 'nominate', 'appoint' and 'excommunicate' does not all signify 'giving of a decision in favour of or against a certain course of action'), a great overlap between the categories (e.g. the verb describes is listed in both categories of verdictive and an expositive) as well as a great deal of heterogeneity within some of the categories (e.g. the verbs dare and challenge are listed in Behabitives, though they belong to forbid, command which are listed in Exercitives). Likewise, Wilson and Sperber (1988:77) refute the idea that sentence types have to be directly associated to specific types of illocutions and argue that "early speech act theorists regarded illocutionary force as a properly semantic category". They propose a radical change in perspective:

> The correct conclusion seems to be that illocutionary force is a purely pragmatic category, a property not of sentences but only of utterances.

> What is it, then, that distinguishes declarative, imperative and interrogative sentences on the purely semantic level? the answer one finds increasingly in the literature is that it is not force but mood (ibid: 78).

Wilson and Sperber (1988: 99) clarify that the understanding of mood never directly corresponds to a particular and comprehensive illocutionary force, rather mood decoding gives "a directed semantic link between linguistic form and representations of propositional attitude". They state that mood gives a clue for the interpretation that the speaker intends to convey. Sbisà and Fabbri (1980) and Barron (2003) point out that speech act theory does not provide a psychologically plausible account of the comprehension process because hearers are seen as playing a passive role and interactional aspects are neglected. Barron (2003) further argues that speech acts are not isolated utterances in interaction, rather they appear in more units of communication known as discourses or conversations. Austin's theory ignores the role of the speaker's intentions in the production of speech acts (Bublitz, and Norrick, 2011). Moeschler (2001: 240) argues that speech act theory cannot provide any insight into the sequencing and interpretation of interaction due to the fact that "speech act theory is neither a theory of interpretation (it is a theory of meaning) nor a global theory of action". Vanderveken (1994: 53) reiterates that "the use of language is a social form of linguistic behaviour" where speakers tend through their verbal interactions to collaboratively achieve common discursive goals such as discussing and deciding together how to react to a specific situation. Thus, as argued by Lenci (1994), a theory of speech acts does not identify the pertinent linguistic and contextual conditions that enable the hearer to distinguish the illocutions which speakers aim to communicate with their utterances considering the fact that that illocutions can be realised with various linguistic structures and sentence types. Mey (1993) and Wierzbicka (1985) highlight the need to complement speech act theory with the study of cultural and contextual factors because the cultural contexts are important in the overall process of understanding intention. Kasper (2006) also argues for

the need to analyse speech acts in interaction by applying a discursive approach to speech act pragmatics.

Grice (1996) argues that Austin bases his distinction between illocutionary acts and perlocutionary acts on conventionality. Illocutionary acts are conventional "in the sense that at least it could be made explicit by the performative formula" (Austin, 1962: 103). Austin (1962:120) states that "illocutionary acts are conventional acts: perlocutionary acts are not conventional". This indicates that it is necessary for the speaker to rely on the socially accepted convention in order to perform an illocutionary act and without which the speaker will not be able to inspire a social force into his or her utterance. A perlocutionary act is the consequential effects of the illocutionary act which do not comprise such conventional effects (Searle, 1975). Searle (1975: 369) argues that considering "illocutionary point as the basic notion on which to classify uses of language, then there are a rather limited number of basic things we do with language". Austin's view of perlocution was not of interest to Searle (1976) who aimed to systemise and formalise the version of Austin's speech act theory. Searle (1992) raises some objections concerning specifically the potential relations between the questions and answers in conversation, arguing that questions are defined in speech act theory as requests for information, but the reply might be another illocutionary point (as a promise) if the question is a request for a promise or indirect responses which do not satisfy syntactic conditions, though the answer is pragmatically appropriate. Searle and Vanderveken (1985) build on claiming that the answer is not a specific illocutionary force, which could be analysed by the seven components of illocutionary force, rather the answer is a functional discursive qualification, but certainly not the semantic definition of a speech act type. Moeschler (2001) points out that these arguments clarify an important difference between the structures of both illocutionary acts and conversation. Grice (1996) and Strawson (1969) argue that speech acts should be classified based on intention because the meaning of a speech act lies in its intentional use by speakers to achieve their desire to get the hearer to do something through revealing to the hearer that the speaker has this intention. Therefore, the speaker

chooses to make obvious the type of force that an utterance has. The speaker refers to conventions in saying the utterance to realise what is intended. However, the intended influence might or might not be actualised and communication is dialogical in nature rather than monological. The speaker and the hearer have different responsibilities in communication. It is the speaker's responsibility to try to communicate in an optimally relevant and socially appropriate way. In interpreting the utterance, the hearer makes assumptions about what the speaker who is aiming at optimal relevance may reasonably have intended to communicate. Therefore, the meaning of an utterance is open to multiple interpretations depending on the hearer's past experiences, present moods and interests, or future concerns. Giving priority to the speaker regarding the ownership of meaning only makes the listener a mere passive decoder of the message. This indicates that the Speech Act Theory should be revised so as to acknowledge the importance of both the speakers and the listener in determining the meaning of a given utterance (Yoshitake, 2004). That is why Smith (1991) argues that if the Speech Act Theory is "to be a viable theory of language usage, it must be able to integrate with a theory of discourse structure, because if speech acts are identifiable as units of language, then it must be possible to include them in a model of discourse".

Consequently, the criticisms of the Speech Act Theory seem to me to support a general conclusion. The general conclusion could be that speech act theorists like Searle pointed out the need for a Gricean pragmatic account of the illocutionary force of indirect speech acts. In this way he acknowledged the importance of an account of intentions and context in communication. However, once we have an explicit account of the relation between linguistic forms, intentions and the context in communication, we no longer need Speech Act Theory (i.e. the basic assumption that linguistic meaning is characterised in terms of communicative functions of utterances) at all to explain utterance comprehension and the concept of speech act remains useful only in so far as it describes more or less institutionalised types of language use (see section 2.7). Thus, in relevance theory terms the meanings of imperative, interrogative and declarative sentences

are best characterised in terms of the well-known grammatical category of mood. Of this view, imperative syntax indicates that the sentence describes a state of affairs that the speaker regards as desirable, an interrogative sentence indicates that the utterance represents an incomplete interpretation of another relevant thought, and a declarative sentence represents a description of a state of affairs that the speaker regards as true. So, as a theory of meaning, Speech Act theory is neither sufficient nor necessary to explain utterance comprehension.

Emphasising the notion of intention, Searle was clearly far more influenced by Grice than Austin was. Searle argues that the function of the same speech can be realised using many verbs which vary in their semantic meanings. Thus, he redefines the speech act to mean the same as an illocutionary act "the basic or minimal units of linguistic communication" (Searle, 1976: 16). He indicates that the illocutionary force and the perlocutionary effect of an utterance depend on the expressions and words that a speaker chooses in his/her utterance. He observes that "the illocutionary point of requests is the same as that of commands: both are attempts to get hearers to do something. But the illocutionary forces are clearly different" (Searle, 1976: 3). Searle classifies speech acts into the following categories according to the interlocutors' intentions where more than one can be achieved in the same utterance simultaneously:

Representatives (or assertive), which impel the speaker to state the truth of something (i.e., asserting, reporting, claiming) "It was a sunny day".

Directives, which are the speakers' attempts to require the hearer to do something (i.e., commanding, requesting, ordering, begging) "Don't smoke!"

Commissives, which impel the speaker to execute some future action (i.e., oaths, offering, promising, threatening) "We will not do that".

Declarations, which change the reality, based on the proposition of the declaration (i.e., appointing a chairman, baptisms, nominating a candidate, announcing someone's marriage) "We find the defendant guilty!"

Expresses, which express the speaker's emotions and attitudes towards the proposition, (i.e., thanking, congratulations, apologising, complimenting) (Searle, 1976)

In particular, this study deals with the last category of Searle's classification "Expressives" which is also defined by Schmidt and Richards (1980: 133) as a set of speech acts that "express feelings and attitudes about the state of affairs". It mainly explores gratitude expressions for receiving a favour. Expressing gratitude is closely related to Searle's (1976) philosophy of felicity conditions[23] of speech acts that was formulated considering the English language. From his point of view, gratitude expression signifies illocutionary acts of expressing appreciation, gratefulness or gratitude (Searle, 1976: 66). Gratitude is identified by Searle (1969: 67) as an expressive illocutionary act performed by the speaker for the hearer because of his/her previous or anticipated beneficial action. In detail, he classifies the communication of gratitude as a set of rules:

1. Propositional content rule: past act A done by H (hearer).
2. Preparatory rule: A benefits S (speaker) and S believes A benefits S.
3. Sincerity rule: S feels grateful or appreciative for A.
4. Essential rule: Counts as an expression of gratitude or appreciation.
5. Comments rule: where vital rules and sincerity overlap.

This classification indicates that in order to find out what constitutes the communication of gratitude, it is essential to identify the preconditions and the

[23] For a speech act to be successfully performed (achieve the intended purpose), Austin (1962) and Searle (1975 and 1976) stated that it must meet particular conditions, which they called "felicity conditions". For instance, Levinson (1983:229) stated that the three categories of felicity conditions are "(a) there must be a conventional procedure having a conventional effect; (b) the circumstances and persons must be appropriate as specified by the behaviour; (c) the procedure must be executed correctly and completely; and (d) the persons must have the requisite thoughts, feelings, and intentions, as specified in the procedure, and if consequent conduct is specified, then the relevant parties must do so. For illustration, if an unqualified individual (declares) "I pronounce you man and wife," then he/she has violated a condition (b) which in turn renders the speech act infelicitous (unsuccessful) since the couple will not be married.

interactional aims of gratitude expression as well as the performative and semantic prerequisites for realising these aims (Cohen, 1996). For instance, if the gratitude expression is considered, one could stipulate that expressing gratitude is called for when an utterance or an action leads one or more person to perceive themselves as deserving an expression of gratitude, where the person(s) who received a favour is expected to express gratitude. According to Searle (1969), a person who expresses gratitude is conveying his/her gratefulness and appreciation for getting something or having something done (A). Therefore, the communication of gratitude takes place only if the speaker believes that the act A has been executed prior to the speaking time and this precondition has caused an imposition or intrusion in others' affairs which influenced the person who is now deserving of gratitude. Moreover, the person who expresses gratitude believes that he or she is at least partially responsible for that imposition or intrusion and as an interactional aim, gratitude expression helps to maintain a good social relationship. However, Wierzicka (1987; 1991) and Ohashi (2013) state that terms (i.e. the speech act of thanking in this case) should not be assumed to mean the same set of cultural values arguing that Searle's terms of speech acts contain semantic meaning and social values specific to English culture. To resolve this problem, Wierzicka (1987) has made a semantic dictionary for defining English speech act verb in a way that avoids terms encompassing culturally specific values. In Wierzicka's (1987: 214) dictionary, 'thank' is defined as follows:

I know that you have done something that is good for me

I say: I feel something good towards you because of that

I say this is because I want to cause you to know what feel towards you

I assume that you would want to hear me say this to you.

Sbisà (2009) contends that the problem with Searle's theory lies in making the illocutionary effect of the act correspond to the recognition of the speaker's intentions by the hearer. In other words, instead of examining the specific illocutionary effects of an act, Searle's analysis concentrates on the types of

speaker's intentions, hence making action as the psycho-physical gesture of the speaker (Collavin, 2011). In addition, Jacobsson (2002) argues that Searle's rules are sometimes broken because this is not the only way to describe thanking as it might be used ironically or to serve a function of closing a conversation, or accepting/rejecting an offer (see Eisenstein and Bodman 1986; Aijmer 1996; Morsi; 2010). Predictions about the sequencing in conversation are difficult to attain because the internal structure of the set of conditions for success cannot determine the possible replies for any type of illocutionary act (Moeschler, 2001). Leech (1983:23) criticises Searle's account of speech acts for being too narrow: "Any account of illocutionary force which defies it in terms of rules…will present a limited and regimented view of human communication". As clarified by (Searle, 1974: 34), "regulative rules regulate a pre-existing activity, an activity whose existence is logically independent of the rules". This indicates that for performing illocutionary acts, speakers should engage in a rule-governed form of behaviour which Thomas (1995) Yoshitake (2004) and Petersen (2012) view as problematic arguing that the utterance's meaning can only be determined considering how it is used in a particular context based on the speaker's intention. Ellis (2008) is against Searle's felicity conditions claiming that the speech act may not be successfully performed in case any one of these conditions is not met or is even challenged by the hearer. Listing certain felicity conditions as appropriate to a specific speech act may be also applicable to other types of speech acts. As in the case of the present thesis, thanking someone for a present may not only mean acknowledging the favour and expressing sincere gratitude, but it is quite possible that it used to express irony. This indicates that Searle unfortunately does not provide any justifications for the sufficiency of his definitions of different types of speech acts. Petersen (2012) adds on we should operate with principles not rules, which allow for borderline cases (i.e. usual cases will not have the defining characteristics of more than one category).

The illocution is the message the communicator intends to convey. However, illocutions are really often performed as part of the fulfilment of a much broader illocutionary intention of the speaker – the intention to communicate gratitude –

and that this intention is generally fulfilled not only by performative verbs (verbs that name the speech act) (the speech act of thanking) performed directly, but by various other speech acts (e.g. semantic formulas which could result in acceptable realisations, such as justification or explanation, for example, "you are my life saver") which indirectly convey some assumptions/information relating to gratitude.

Direct and Indirect Speech acts can be distinguished as follows:

(i) Direct speech act

A speech act is direct when the meaning of the utterance used to perform the speech act is identical to the meaning that is communicated by that act (Searle, 1985). For example, when a person you have not met before says: 'What is your name?' that person has performed a direct speech act: they have directly requested this information from you.

(ii) Indirect speech acts

When the speech act performed by an utterance is different from the meaning of the utterance used to perform the speech act, the speech act is called an indirect speech act (Searle, 1985).

Example of indirect speech act[24]:

Situation: Peter and John are talking in Luton. Peter who is about to drive to London has just realised that John is also going to London.

Peter: I am driving back to London. Shall I give you a lift?
John: I already have a train ticket.

In this example, John makes an assertion (about having a train ticket) but indirectly performs another speech act: a refusal.

[24] All the examples in this section are provided by the researcher herself for clarification.

Gratitude is conveyed both directly and indirectly. While Speech Act Theory can account for direct communication, the interpretation of indirection calls for some other theory. Searle himself suggests that what is needed here is Grice's (1967) account (or something like it) in terms of conversational principles and maxims (Searle, 1971: 44). Conversation is supposed to be controlled by a set of principles and maxims. It typically proceeds in accord with interlocutors' approval of these maxims and principles as they appear in the utterances of others. Generally, they usually abide by them, though they are sometimes violated for one reason or another (Salmani-Nodoushan, 2006).

The Cooperative Principle proposed by Grice (1975) is related to the theory of speech act in the sense that the organisation and the interpretation of the speakers' utterances are based on cooperative behaviour shared by all the interlocutors. The Cooperative Principle (Grice, 1967: 26) is "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged". He argues that conversations between interlocutors are not just disconnected utterances which are devoid of any reference to each other, but rather 'cooperative efforts' for a certain purpose; such as exchanging information. He states that the receiver is able to comprehend the pragmatic meaning of an utterance (its actual meaning in a specific context, and between specific interlocutors) according to these maxims and the general knowledge of the world. In particular, these maxims assist the receiver to recognise the sender's intention of what to perform with his/her words as they are rational principles interlocutors observe in order to communicate logically and effectively (Murata, 2008). The Cooperative Principle is built on the following four conversational categories with their submaxims:

i) The maxim of Quality indicates making "the contribution true" through:

- Not saying things which the speaker believes to be false.
- Not saying things for which one lacks adequate evidence.

ii) The maxim of Quantity refers to the amount of information provided (informativeness):

- Making a contribution which is as informative as required.
- Not making a contribution more informative than is required.

iii) The maxim of Manner (style) refers to "how what is said is to be said"; "be perspicuous":

- Avoid obscurity of expression
- Avoid ambiguity
- Be brief
- Be orderly
- Be precise

iv) The maxim of Relation indicates being relevant to the context.

(Grice, 1975: 45-46)

Grice's maxims of conversation (and the Co-operative Principle) aim to explain how it is possible for the speaker of an utterance to communicate more than its linguistic meaning. He notes that it is sensible for speakers to value and respect these maxims if they desire to achieve the intended linguistic meaning during their conversations. He is concerned with illustrating the disparity between "what is said" and "what is meant". He identifies the former as the meaning of the words at their face value, whereas the latter is the effect that speakers aim to produce on the hearers through the addressee's acknowledgment of the intended intention.

According to Grice, we can convey more than we say because we use the maxims of conversation in one of two ways: (1) by exploiting them or (2) by flouting them.

(1) When maxims are exploited, the speaker observes both the Cooperative Principle and the maxims. Example of exploiting the maxims:

Susan: Do you like baklava?

Jane: I eat baklava at least once a week.

In this example, Jane's answer to Susan's question expresses the thought that she eats baklava at least once a week. Jane's answer is sufficiently informative, relevant and stylistically appropriate only provided Susan is able to make some further assumptions, i.e.: People eat once a week only food that they really like. This leads Susan to conclude that Jane really likes baklava. Susan is able to figure out this information because she assumes that Jane is truthful and that she is aiming to be appropriately informative (i.e. to give enough information), relevant (i.e. that her utterance is related to Susan's question) and stylistically appropriate (i.e. that she is not being obscure, ambiguous, or using too many words).

(2) When maxims are flouted, the speaker observes the Cooperative Principle, but evidently and intentionally fails to observe one or more maxims. Example of flouting the maxims:

Situation: Student enters the classroom 35 minutes after the beginning of the lecture.

Student: I am sorry I am late.

Lecturer: Come in. You are just on time!

In this example the lecturer flouts the maxim of quality by saying something that is evidently false. The student presumes that the teacher observes the Cooperative Principle. He needs to figure out how the teacher could be observing the Cooperative principle while evidently intentionally flouting the maxim of quality. This leads the student to conclude that the teacher has said the opposite of what he believes to be true and that he did so in order to convey his attitude of ridicule and scorn. In other words, the student concludes that the teacher is using irony.

(3) Maxims are violated when the speaker fails to observe the maxims without making the intention to do so evident or without even having the intention to fail to observe the maxims.

An example of violating the maxim of informativeness:

Anna: Hi. How are you doing?

Susan: I am alright. Nothing much happened over the past few days. I have been going to the university and studying and going out. This time last year I was not really feeling that good, but this year I am alright. I have been listening to music while travelling on the train and then I bought a newspaper and I am going to read it when I get home.

In this example, Susan violates the maxim of quantity because she gives more information than is required by Anna's question (which is a conventional greeting, rather than a request for detailed information). The reason we say that Susan has not flouted, but that she has violated the maxim of quantity is that she did not do so intentionally. She simply failed to communicate effectively – she was neither cooperative nor adequately informative in her answer.

Pragmatics concentrates on how language is used besides how communicative acts are realised Kasper (1992: 206). Thus, pragmatists often tackle a particular communicative act in focus. Although Speech Act Theory is not plausible, there is a place for the concept of speech act in describing communication in general and communication across cultures in particular, because cultures institutionalise various aspects of social interaction in ways which are both similar and different. The investigation of speech acts as social institutions is important because it reveals the similarities and the differences in the way particular types of social interaction are conducted across cultures. The account of institutionalisation could be introduced in terms of norms and transgressing social norms is perceived as impolite and often involves social sanctions against the people who have violated

the norm (even if the penalty is a mild one) (see section 2.7). Speech acts are very important components of sociolinguistic competence as they do not only facilitate the process of communication, but also make it more effective (Eshreteh, 2014). Baleghizadeh (2007) reaffirms that there are significant because they enable us to perform a wide range of functions (i.e. to thank, request, compliment, apologise, etc.) using our native and second/foreign language in our daily life. Asher and Lascarides (2006) assert that speech acts must be understood relationally as performing them successfully is dependent on the meaning of antecedent utterances. In clarifying the cross-cultural dimension of speech acts, Wierzbicka (2003) also indicates that speech acts are performed and interpreted according to specific cultural norms, values and characteristics (i.e. cordiality, indirectness, courtesy, etc.) which may govern people's interaction in cultural contexts. In addition, speech acts exist as social institutions because they are conventionalised i.e. institutionalised ways of using language to convey particular types of messages in particular types of communication situations. The communication of gratitude is institutionalised presumably because it is socially important. It is observed that the communication of gratitude is institutionalised in different ways across cultures and that this is interesting because the differences have significant implications for intercultural communication, and second and foreign language learning etc. It should be noted that I have used the concept of speech act throughout the thesis as a label for an institutionalised type of act of communication, without committing myself to Speech Act Theory as a general theory of meaning. Therefore, examining speech acts should focus on the "action" dimension of utterances and going beyond their syntactic form and semantic meaning by adding illocutionary meaning (Eshreteh, 2014). Van Dijk (2009:13) argues that "Utterances, when made in specific situations, are thus defined not merely as expressions of sentences or propositions but also as social acts such as assertions, promises or threats". Utterances should be perceived from a context-oriented view as interactive speech acts which are co-constructed by interactants and realised across interaction considering the external factors that might influence the communication process such interlocutors' social relationships, psychological states, and attitudes.

To sum up, researchers who investigate the concrete forms and functions of various communicative acts in different languages in intercultural studies have found that these communicative acts are restrained by politeness principles at various degrees based on different cultures (Félix-Brasdefer, 2008; Jautz, 2013). Communication has both a transactional aspect (i.e. conveying information) and an interpersonal aspect (i.e. maintaining relationships between interlocutors) (e.g. Brown and Yule, 1983; Tannen, 1990). Politeness theory focuses on the interpersonal aspect of communication from a pragmatic viewpoint (Murata, 2008). To enable people to linguistically, socially and culturally behave in an appropriate manner, people should be provided and equipped with not only adequate linguistic resources to encode gratitude, but they should also be enlightened about the socio-cultural rules of selecting polite strategies in a particular situation considering a variety of social and situational factors. In the following section, I present and discuss extensively politeness research particularly traditional and discursive politeness theories.

2.4 Politeness research

Politeness is an essential part of pragmatics (Thomas, 1995:149). The theoretical underpinning of politeness phenomena begins in the fleeting reference made by Grice and Searle to politeness in their work (Terkourafi, 2005a). Grice (1967: 28) notes that "There are, of course, all sorts of other maxims (aesthetic, social, or moral in character), such as "Be polite," that are also normally observed by participants in talk exchanges and these may also generate nonconventional implicatures[25]". Searle (1975: 177) also observes that "The chief motivation though not the only motivation for using these indirect forms is politeness".

Both concepts of politeness, and more recently impoliteness, have attracted researchers' attention (e.g. Spencer-Oatey, 2000; Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003; Locher, 2004, Culpeper, 2011a). Politeness is concerned with explaining why and how people from different cultures establish, maintain, or support their

[25] Conventional implicatures generate inferences that are "standardised by convention" (Mey, 1993: 104), which "taken by themselves implicate certain states of the world".

social relations through language use (Cheng, 2005). Verschueren (1999: 45) states that "Irrespective of its specific aspects, 'politeness' has become a cover term in pragmatics for whatever choices are made in language use in relation to the need to avoid conflict and preserve people's face in general, i.e. their public self-image". This description maintains Lakoff's (1975: 45) definition of politeness as a "verbal velvet glove to conceal the iron fist" and Brown and Levinson's (1987) concept of politeness as strategic conflict-avoidance and face-threat [26] minimisation, Ide's (1989) connection of politeness and smooth communication and Leech's (1983) link of politeness to disruption- avoidance and social equilibrium and friendly relations maintenance. Thus, the notion of 'face' has been employed as an explanatory mechanism in studying (im)politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Mao, 1994; Nwoye, 1992; Scollon and Scollon, 1995). In cultures which consider face as a "regulatory principle promoting conformity with established norms" (Terkourafi, 2007: 319), politeness is mostly related to one's duty towards the group (Bargiela-Chiappini 2003). According to Brown (2008:68-69), face is "the underlying motivation for speakers to apply language politely…,… is broadly taken to refer to images or identities (of the individual or group)". In other words, the concept of face significantly influences the manner in which people interact socially, thus it is used as a crucial point to interpret meaning in social interaction basically determining which act is polite or impolite in communication since it is embedded in the interlocutors' perception regarding how they would behave in particular contexts (Ohashi, 2013). Therefore, it could be argued that the fear of losing face prevents people from breaking the norm of politeness (i.e. performing inappropriate and impolite action) (De Kadt, 1998). Eshreteh (2014: 81) argues that the analysis of face could be viewed as "a metaphor to describe politeness in action [which] uncovers both the informational and affective dimensions of language use in structuring human relationship". Researchers analyse (im)politeness in terms

[26] Face threats are acts that would make someone possibly lose face (public self-image), or damage it in some way. According to Wilson, and Kunkel, (2000:195), "*Threats to face arise from tacit knowledge about (a) specific influence goals (e.g., giving advice, asking favors) and (b) the rules for directives (e.g., requests) that underlie any attempt to seek compliance".*

of face-enhancing (i.e. polite) and face-aggravating strategies (i.e. that might appear impolite) and behaviour (Haugh and Schneider, 2012). Impolite communicative strategies are used to attack face and cause social conflict and disharmony (Culpeper, 2011a). Face threats have recently received more attention concurrent with the rise of impoliteness research (Bousfield, 2008; Bousfield and Culpeper, 2008; Bousfield and Locher, 2008; Culpeper, 1996, 2005, 2011a). In other words, politeness research focuses on face threat avoidance or reduction, whereas impoliteness research concentrates on aggressive or deliberate face threats or attack (Culpeper, 2005; 2011a; Bousfield and Locher, 2008). Rather than viewing face as static, as Brown and Levinson do, many discursive theorists have adopted Goffman's more process-oriented view of face and reconceptualised it as what emerges and is co-constructed by interlocutors in interaction (Ohashi, 2013). Face is not assigned to interlocutors, but it is consistently negotiated (Geyer, 2008; Mills, 2011) signifying the mutual concerns for saving each other's face during an interaction (Eshreteh, 2014). Arundale (2010) perceives face as a relational and interactional phenomenon rather than a set of agreed norms or a property of utterances. Thus, politeness as "a discursive concept arising out of interactants' perceptions and judgements of their own and others' verbal behaviour" (Locher and Watts, 2005:10) and a "linguistic behaviour which is perceived to be beyond what is expectable, i.e. salient behaviour should be called polite or impolite depending on whether the behaviour itself tends towards the negative or positive end of the spectrum of politeness" Watts (2003: 19). Terkourafi claims that discursive theorists have moved from viewing "politeness as deviation from rational efficiency to a more comprehensive notion of politeness-in-context" (2001: 6). According to Terkourafi (2001:11), politeness is not merely a "strategic conflict avoidance" but also "social indexing[27]". Following Scollon and Scollon's dictum (1995: 38) that "there is no faceless communication", Terkourafi (2007:47) claims that "all linguistic expressions do 'inform work' and 'facework' at the same time all the time". Face is primarily

27 The idea of politeness as social indexing is prominent in Ide's (1989) discernment which states that politeness is what is socially appropriate behavior which depends on the speaker's social relationship and social position in relation to the hearer (Eelen, 2001;Vilkki, 2006).

related to social-psychology: to the internal (psychological) perceptions about oneself in relation to others and external (social) evaluations of individuals. Politeness is primarily related to (linguistic, communicative) behaviour. One way to interpret Terkourafi's observation is that politeness is related not merely to the internal psychological, but also to the external-social aspects of face, which are often negotiated through communication and play a role in regulating social interaction. Bousfield (2008: 47) proposes that face "internally expected and extremely realised in interaction, requiring in actuality some fine tuning or outright re-modification/manipulation". Watts (2003) argues that politeness theory and face theory should not be equated. In other words, politeness is a value laden and disputable notion which cannot be adequately captured by Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory which claims that politeness is involved in redressing different types of face threatening acts (Vilkki, 2006). However, there is a substantial debate about the exact nature of both notions; 'face' and 'politeness', and the scope of phenomena which they should appropriately encompass (Haugh and Hinze, 2003) as will be shown the next sections (2.4.1.1-2.4.2.5).

In communication, people do not merely share their thoughts. They try to influence others by getting them to accept the thoughts they are sharing with them as true beliefs. In a given situation of communication the negotiation of face helps people to establish the sort of credibility which will increase their chances of success in their various interactional and personal goals. Of course, the loss of face will have the opposite effect: lack of trust and consequently reduced chances for the person who has lost face of success in influencing others. In a general social context socially desirable face is closely related to reputation. A person known to those who engage in interaction with him or her only by their good reputation has greater credibility and influence. Of course, a person's reputation is closely related to their public image, the honour, trust and respect that society has conferred on them.

In the Arabic language, the concept of face "الوجه" 'alwadʒh' which literally means the front part of the head from the forehead to the lower jaw is also used metaphorically to signify respect, honour, and dignity (Eshreteh, 2014). The types of face in Jordan could be distinguished following Agyekum's (2004:77) classification (i.e. "face upgrading/honouring" and "face demeaning/threatening" actions. Face upgrading/honouring are expressions and action that uphold face of the individual by showing respect to individuals, and thus upgrade his/her positive image and personality (e.g. "بيض الله وجهك", 'bayadʕa Allah wadʒhak', 'May Allah whiten your face (i.e endow you good reputation)) whereas face demeaning/threatening expressions are used to describe the negative side of face (e.g. "سودت وجهنا", 'sawadt wadʒhana:', 'you blackened our face (i.e. you damaged our reputation')), and thus imply losing someone's face which is known as "losing the water of one's face" ('Ira:qat ma:' alwadʒh', ("اراقه ماء الوجه") is used to imply losing one's positive face wants (Nureddeen, 2008). I adopt Goffman's (1967:5) definition of face as the "positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assuming he has taken during a particular contact". I argue that people take care of their social behaviour (i.e. promoting good social behaviour and avoiding anti-social behaviour) as face is not an individual property, but it is the possession of the whole social group to which they belong. As Eshreteh (2014) argues, everyone has to think twice before saying a word and many times before performing an action in order not to lose or put one's face in danger and to create a clash between one's face wants and others' because it is not easy to redeem face, resolve a clash and make a fresh restart. The notion face Jordan is very similar to Palestinian's face, in that it could function as "a deterrent, making people abide by the institutionalised and sanctioned code of politeness" (Farahat, 2009:86). In other words, face prevents people from violating social rules and carrying out actions that might be regarded as antithetical to their society's interests and impolite. Thus, maintaining face is used as a "mechanism of social control, helping people become socially acceptable (Ukosakul, 2005). Not only that, face in Palestine and similarly in Jordan plays a vital role in solving quarrels among people (Farahat, 2009). In other words, a mediator who is a well-respected person is always called into most

cases of dispute between members of families to prevent any future confrontation using an expression such as ("وجهي عليها", 'wadʒhi: ɾali:ha:', ' my face on it (i.e. I stake my reputation on it')) Eshreteh (2014). Showing respect to the mediator's face is deemed polite and a commitment from the disputed families to end hostilities. Affronting the mediator's face could be caused by harassing any member from the other family (Farahat, 2009).

Though politeness has been defined by many researchers, Meier (1995:345) claims that there is a "disconcerting amount of divergence and lack of clarity concerning the meaning of politeness". Dimitrova-Galaczi (2005:1) also argues that "the literature on politeness reveals tremendous confusion, a surprising lack of general consensus regarding its definition and conceptualization". This could be ascribed to the lack of a universal formal and functional equivalence across cultures (i.e. politeness and impoliteness have different meanings, different perceptions and motivations behind it and functions within different cultures) (Pizziconi, 2008) and to the confusion between politeness as a commonsense notion and politeness as a theoretical concept[28] (Dimitrova-Galaczi, 2005). Mills (2003:8-9) argues that "politeness is not a fixed and easily recognisable linguistic phenomenon", rather it varies according to the participants' "assessment of the context and the particular community-of-practice norms". Mills (2003:9) adds that politeness cannot be viewed as "a property of utterances, or even as a set of choices made solely by individuals, but rather as a set of practices or strategies which communities of practice develop, affirm, and contest, and which individuals within these communities engage with in order to come to an assessment of their own and others' behaviour and position within the group". Mills (2002) suggests that instead of having a linguistic analysis of politeness we should move to a discourse analysis of politeness. Mills (ibid:70) observes that more emphasis on impoliteness leads us to view politeness as "something which emerges at a discourse level, over stretches of talk and across communities of speakers and hearers" and less as "an addition to a conversation, something which

28 Further clarification of politeness as a commonsense notion and a theoretical concept is provided in Section 2.4.2.

is grafted onto individual speech acts in order to facilitate interaction between speaker and hearer".

Considering the communication of gratitude from the perspective of politeness, conveying gratitude is often perceived as a token of politeness (Blum-Kulka, 1992). As argued by Jacobsson (2002: 64), "A sociological approach suggests that thanking is a small supportive ritual associated with politeness…and its social effect is an acknowledgement of the benefit one has received". Neshkovska, (2012) states that "thank you" is used in for conveying gratitude in different contexts (i.e. receiving favours, compliments, services, etc.) and functions as politeness and discourse markers. Jautz (2013: 6) argues that "thanking as a supportive ritual is considered to be adding to polite conduct, if it is not named as *the* prime example of politeness and good behaviour". Ohashi (2013: 9) argues that it is essential to "look at the notion of politeness and the realisation of thanking from a motivational and strategic point of view" considering researchers' perception of politeness as a softener to minimise or avoid conflict (Lakoff, 1975; Leech, 1983; Brown and Levinson, 1978;1987), a positive enhancer of social rapport (Spencer-Oatey, 2008) as well as a culture-specific set of social values that are maintained to satisfy mutual expectations (Sifianou,1992). Gratitude expression in Leech (1983) falls under his 'convivial' category of speech acts (i.e. a speech-act which is intrinsically polite or courteous). Thus, it could be argued that gratitude expression is used to support/approve the addressee (i.e. positive politeness) to promote comity (i.e. social goal) (Leech, 1983). Leech (2007: 174) points out that out of context "thank you very much is more polite than thanks, because it intensifies an expression of gratitude, rather than expressing gratitude in a minimal way". This means that maximising politeness when conveying gratitude could be achieved using intensifying adverbs or prosodic devices. Gratitude expression can also be viewed as face-threatening-act (FTA) by Brown and Levinson's (1987). That is the illocution of conveying gratitude threatens the speakers' negative face when they feel uneasy or reluctant to concede their obligation to the addressee and thus humble themselves (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Viewing expressing gratitude as a FTA indicates that the speaker is obliged

to acknowledge the act which in turn results in the speakers' freedom from the act being impeded. An acknowledgement of a debt of gratitude indicates that the listener must somehow reciprocate. Therefore, speakers usually aim to minimise the face-threat of an act unless they intend to perform a face-threatening act maximally. In this case, 'positive politeness' is associated with a lesser degree of FTA and more intimacy between interlocutors and negative politeness as the speaker acknowledges a debt of gratitude and hence humble their face (more clarification in the subsequent sections). Norms of politeness can directly impact the evaluation of favour requests, thus gratitude expressions because such requests are threatening to the face needs of the giver and the receiver (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Expressing gratitude in Spencer-Oatey's view of politeness should not be viewed as face-threatening act rather as a rapport-sensitive act helping to enhance or maintain smooth relationships among the interlocutors. However, it should be noted that different cultures have different definitions and norms of what is an appropriate and polite gratitude expression. Interlocutors' response to different politeness norms may vary because they have different rights and duties as participants in the interaction. The relation between gratitude and politeness will be elaborated further in the following subsections.

Considering the variety of politeness definitions and theories, I hypothesise that politeness is a social phenomenon manifested in interlocutors' perception of what count as appropriate communicative and non-communicative acts in light of the cultures and the social contexts involved. Therefore, expressing politeness when communicating gratitude is relative to particular interlocutors' perceptions, beliefs and values about politeness based on particular social contexts. The present study attempts to empirically investigate the ways in which Jordanians and the English people realise gratitude in their languages in light of what is considered (im)politeness from their point of view. The contribution of the present thesis to politeness research is shown by making references in the discussion chapter to the politeness notions and theories when the collected data, analysed in light of peoples' views of politeness, support or refute some or all elements of these theories. Thus, this will inform the debate on politeness theories.

The following is a classification of politeness research based on two views: the "traditional" view which is based on Grice's Co-operative Principle and speech act theory and the "post-modern/ discursive" view which rejects these classical theories and tries to emphasise the importance of participants' own perceptions of politeness.

2.4.1 Traditional views of politeness

The Traditional views on politeness (i.e. Lakoff, Leech and Brown and Levinson) could be described as emphasizing the importance of norms. Ehlich (1992:76) argues that one of the essential concerns of these theories is the "[…] need to know what constitutes the standard S" in politeness evaluations. They all treat politeness as involving the observance of some social norms. Their approaches are based on take prescriptive and normative perspectives on politeness[29]: i.e. they are mainly concerned with how speakers select and use certain certain linguistic strategies according to predetermined sets of principles (Murata, 2008). Norms maybe viewed as "the prevalent commonsense explanation for politeness" (Brown and Levinson, 1987:59). According to the social normative view, politeness represents the public understanding of politeness as good manners, social etiquette and appropriate and ideal ways of interacting (Fraser, 1990). It is in this respect that the conception of politeness as norm-guided behavioural production can explain politeness better than impoliteness (Eelen, 2001). Eelen (2001: 187) argues that "The commonsense idea that politeness is a matter of socially shared norms is retained in the scientific models, where those norms are translated into social/cultural principles that guide language behaviour. Norms are thus not relative to the individual, but become absolute, objective entities operating on the level of society/culture. Politeness is seen as a system of such absolute norms that needs to be internalized by the individual through socialization". This means that

29 This view is clearly stated in Gu's (1990:242) theory "…in interaction, politeness is not just instrumental. It is also normative…it would be a serious oversight not to see the normative aspect of politeness…Politeness is a phenomenon belonging to the level of society, which endorses normative constraints on each individual". This indicates that politeness could be viewed as a system of moral norms emanating from society (Eelen, 2001).

the normative aspect of politeness is translated in the traditional theories as a set of (moral) principles, maxims and evaluative rules of a scientific description of 'what is polite and what impolite', thus leading to the identification of the rules of behaviour (of the type 'Do this, but don't do that') (Eelen, 2001).These theories are based on the assumption that each society has a specific set of social norms, comprising of explicit rules that prescribe particular types of behaviour or a way of thinking in particular contexts and distinguish it from other societies. Consequently, politeness arises when an action complies with the accepted shared norms regardless of the hearers' expectation, whereas impoliteness arises when an action violates or is incongruent with such norms (Fraser, 1990). Consequently, Eelen (2001) concludes that the view of politeness as a form of (expressive) behaviour, driven by culturally shared social norms and constituting a social regulatory force directed towards establishing and maintaining social order means that the full competence in politeness issues leads to a stable social order. Eelen (2001: 248) maintains that since a description of norms does not show anything about their actual use or about what it essentially does or what individuals can do with it, these "traditional content-oriented approaches seem rather to miss the point in their analyses of politeness, and have no more real explanatory power than the etiquette manuals they so often dismissed as 'popular' and 'unscientific'". In the case of ordinary people invoking norms in their explanation of politeness, Eelen (2001) claims that researchers should try to closely examine the activity of norm invoking and understand their explanation in non-commonsense terms, as it is possible to give us an insight into what politeness essentially involves.

Arundale (1999) clarifies that the Gricean focus of the traditional view[30] of politeness is seen in their definition of politeness as a greater or lesser degree of departure from the Co-operative Principle and in their speaker's orientation, whereby politeness is part of speaker meaning. Grainger (2011:169) argues that Lakoff (1973, 1989), Leech (1983), Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) "recognise

30 Terkourafi (2005a:237) calls Lakoff, Leech and Brown and Levinson's theories `traditional' views of politeness because they have achieved the status of `classics' in the field of politeness.

that there is more to meaning in conversation than can be encapsulated by the four maxims of Grice's Cooperative Principle". Work on linguistic politeness often aims to explain it in Gricean terms as explaining why the Co-Operative Principle and the maxims have been violated. I believe these analyses are fundamentally wrong. There is an alternative view which is equally compatible with Grice and is more plausible: on Grice's view people aim to convey all the information they intend to convey and aim to avoid conveying all the ideas that they want not to convey. For example, I may want to convey to someone that I would like him/her to make me a cup of tea, but at the same time, I may want to avoid conveying the idea that I see him/her as a person of lower status whom I can order about. So I decide to use a polite form of words. This polite form of words does not violate any of Grice's maxims, because a more direct, less polite, form of words would convey some assumptions which I want to avoid conveying. This could be claimed to be an important contribution to theoretical understanding of politeness within the post-Gricean approach which does not invoke by definition either norms or violations of norms, but allows the possibility of such norms as socially institutionalised forms of linguistic behaviour. Murata (2008) argues that the focus of the traditional approaches of politeness is speech-acts, speaker-oriented and universal sets of principles regardless of cultures. Terkourafi (ibid) states that the traditional view of politeness assumes that different cultures are (at least internally) homogeneous and agree on what constitutes politeness and its assessments which allow them to extrapolate from observational data to universalising principles and rules. She adds that politeness in all cultures becomes merely a matter of using certain linguistic devices/strategies based on universalising rules/principles. Terkourafi (2005a) and Murata (2008) argue that although the results of several empirical studies which tried to provide an account of politeness phenomena in various cultures did not always confirm such traditional claims of politeness, the suggested reviews remained decisively in the realm of the maxim/rule-based paradigm. Though Lakoff's, Leech's, and Brown and Levinson's approaches to politeness share some common features, they have their own characteristics as will be explained the following subsections.

2.4.1.1 Lakoff's view of politeness

Lakoff is known as `the mother of modern politeness theory' because she is one of the first scholars to study the notion politeness in modern linguistics (Eelen, 2001: 2). Lakoff (1975:53) views politeness from the angle of social appropriateness "to be polite is saying the socially correct thing". Lakoff (1990:34) defines politeness as 'a system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange'. Lakoff (1973) notes that both linguistic and non-linguistic utterances may be deemed acceptable or unacceptable under some conditions of sentences. She argues that "in order to predict correctly the applicability of many rules, one must be able to refer to assumptions about the social context of an utterance, as well as to other implicit assumptions made by the participants in a discourse" (Lakoff, 1972: 907) where she discusses politeness. Félix-Brasdefer (2008) argues that Lakoff's notion of politeness could be viewed as a conflict-free conversation since speakers try to satisfy each other's needs through using politeness strategies which preserve harmony throughout the interaction. Although Lakoff (1972) recognises that linguistic devices employed for expressing politeness vary across languages (what is viewed as polite in one culture might be perceived as boorish in another culture), she assumes that "there is a universal definition of what constitutes linguistic politeness: part of this involves the speaker's acting as though his status were lower than that of the addressee" (lakoff, 1972: 911). She even adds that the difference in the perception of politeness across languages, cultures, and subcultures is "the question of when it is polite to be polite, to what extent, and how it is shown in terms of superficial linguistic behaviour" (ibid: 911). Considering that interlocutors almost never strictly follow the Cooperative Principle and its maxims, Lakoff (1973) proposes, in accordance with the Grice's (1967) Cooperative Principle, rules of politeness (i.e. Don't impose, Give options, Make A feel good-be friendly) to determine whether an utterance is pragmatically well- or ill-formed and the extent to which it differs if it does. "Don't impose" means "Don't intrude into another's business" or "Remain aloof" (1973: 298). The rule "Give Options" is intended to show deference by using certain linguistic

utterances (e.g. hedges, tag-questions and euphemism[31]) hesitancy in speech and action to make it appear as an option (how to behave) left up to the addressee. These rules are attended to for a reasonable explanation in case hearers notice that speakers do not seem to be completely following the Gricean maxims (e.g. if speakers are not extremely clear this could mean that they may be trying to avoid causing offence) (Eelen, 2001). These rules are reformulated as basic strategies of politeness (i.e. Distance (previously Formality), Deference and Camaraderie (Lakoff, 1990). These strategies are reconceptualised as `politeness systems' in the same book (Lakoff, 1990: 39). Distance politeness is "equivalent to what most people in our society consider 'polite' behaviour" (Lakoff, 1990: 35) and is conceptualised by the use of impersonal and non-imposition expressions (Félix-Brasdefer, 2008). Deference politeness (denies the existence of interaction by removing the speaker from the interaction" (Lakoff, 1990:36) and is realised by offering options to the interlocutors (Félix-Brasdefer, 2008). Camaraderie is representative of informality and intimacy where "the appearance of openness and niceness is to be sought above all else" (Lakoff, 1990: 39). Lakoff (1989) proposes that speakers operate within a threefold distinction of polite, non-polite and rude. What Lakoff means by polite is "those utterances that adhere to the rules of politeness whether or not they are expected in a particular discourse type"; by `non-polite' "behaviour that does not conform to politeness rules, used where the latter are not expected"; and by `rude' "behaviour that does not utilise politeness strategies where they would be expected, in such a way that the utterances can only or more plausibly be interpreted as intentionally and negatively confrontational" (ibid: 103).

[31] Hedges leave the addressee the option of deciding how seriously to take what the speaker is saying. Thus "John is sorta short" may be, in some contexts, a polite way of saying "John is short" (Lakoff, 1975: 66). Tag-questions also have a similar function. Euphemism is avoiding the direct mention of an offensive concept or uncomfortable topic, the speaker employs euphemism and allows the addressee the option of determining what he or she is actually hearing (Lakoff, 1975: 67).

- **Criticism on Lakoff's view of politeness**

Lakoff's theory is viewed as "theoretically weak" Fukushima (2000:33) for being a 'structure-centered approach' (Inagaki, 2007:9) conceiving and systematising politeness as pragmatic rules or principles. Inagaki ascribes this to Lakoff's attempts to establish universal rules of politeness aiming to establish an idealised homogeneous language system. Félix-Brasdefer (2008) observes that Lakoff's model of politeness is very narrowly defined in the sense that it is concerned with respecting speakers' territory, offering options, making them feel good. Researchers argue that Lakoff's model does not explicitly explain how the three proposed levels of politeness (i.e. don't impose; give options; make the hearer feel good) are to be understood, the rationale for choosing them and how interlocutors decide on a specific strategy (Fraser, 1990; Watts et al., 1992; Van De Walle, 1993; Murata, 2008), hence it lacks an adequate "explanatory power" (Van De Walle, 1993: 53). Likewise, Félix-Brasdefer (2008) contends that Lakoff's conceptualisation of polite behaviour as a parallel to polite is not clear because what is regarded as appropriate in specific interaction might not be always perceived polite. Turner (1996:6) comments that, "her [Lakoff] account (i) leaves these rules in this state of imprecision and... (ii) makes no attempt to theorise the notion of context". Lakoff's (1973:297) hypothesis that "when Clarity conflicts with Politeness, politeness supersedes" could no longer be sustained because the same rules of politeness do not operate for different languages (Inagaki, 2007). Inagaki (2007), Félix-Brasdefer (2008) Shahrokhi and Bidabadi (2013) criticise Lakoff's model because it is not supported by adequate empirical evidence.

2.4.1.2 Leech's politeness principle

Like Lakoff (1973), Leech has adopted the conversation-maxim conceptualization of politeness in building his conceptual framework of politeness on Gricean Maxims despite his criticism of Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principles for not taking into account the social factors in language use. Leech (1983) argues that although Grice's Cooperative Principles are introduced to depict the way people

manage and interpret utterances (i.e. handling and conveying information), they do not satisfactorily explain people's indirect interaction. Accordingly, Leech (ibid) proposed his Politeness Principle that clarifies the reason behind people's violation of Grice's Principles when interacting. He contends that in reality people often tend to be more indirect than the Grice's Cooperative Principle proposes. Leech (1983) points out that for a successful interaction the cooperative principle alone does not entirely serve since one needs to be polite first to ensure cooperation. Thus, he suggests his politeness principles to support a link between the Cooperative Principles and how to add sense to force Leech (1983: 104). The politeness principle is proposed based on the assumption that though communicative goals or illocutionary acts are sometimes clash, interlocutors always have social goals to maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable them to suppose that their addressee are being cooperative in the first place (Leech, 1983). The Politeness Principle is proposed as a general constraint on human communicative acts that makes them avoid communicative offence or disharmony and aims to maintain communicative concord using various linguistic strategies (Leech, 2007). Therefore, it is needed for dealing with interpersonal relationships and successful communication. The concord is considered as participants pursue the same goals through interaction (Haugh, 2007a). Leech differentiates between relative politeness and absolute politeness. While relative politeness indicates that politeness is often relative to some norm of behaviour which is considered typical for a specific context, absolute politeness is viewed as a scale or a set of scales having a negative and a positive side. Leech (1983: 83-84) views politeness forms of behaviour that establish and maintain comity as avoiding conflict; thus positive politeness is maximizing politeness (the expression of beliefs which are favourable to the hearer) and negative politeness is minimizing impoliteness (i.e. the expression of beliefs which are unfavourable to the hearer). The scales of absolute politeness are: cost-benefit, optionality, and indirectness, authority, and social distance (1983:123). The cost-benefit scale captures the social convention in light of which people have to do their best to act in ways which are deemed beneficial to others. The cost-benefit scale describes the degree to which the action is perceived from

the speakers' perspective to be either costly or beneficial to them or their addressees either financially or a prestige. The higher the cost to the addressee, the less polite the illocutionary act is whereas the lower the cost, the more polite the act is (Leech, 1983). The optionality scale shows the extent to which the given action is perceived as the addressee's choice as "it becomes progressively easier for h to say no (...) negative politeness (i.e. serving the avoidance of the cost to h) is increased" (Leech 1983: 109).

The indirectness scale concerns the degree of indirectness of an act with regard to its illocutionary goal. Thus, it describes the length of inference involved in the action. Indirect illocutions tend to be more polite because it increases optionality and decreases the impositive force of the illocutionary act. The more indirect the act is, the more polite (Leech, 1983). These scales are interconnected. In other words, the higher the cost the more indirect the utterance will be and the greater the amount of optionality to the addressee (Leech, 1983). The social distance scale describes the degree of solidarity (i.e. familiarity) between the interactants. The long-time relationship between people shows that they have a high solidarity to each other, whereas people in distant relationships have a low solidarity to each other. The authority scale represents the social status relationship between the participants and the degree power or authority one person has over another. The expressions interlocutors choose can show if they see the addressee a superior, a subordinate or an equal (Nurdianingsih, 2006). Leech (1983: 82) primarily deals with absolute politeness and accentuates the normative/regulative aspect of politeness. This is evidenced in his formulation of politeness into the Politeness Principle and its maxims. These scales underlie all the following six maxims of politeness which Leech proposes to show that politeness is oriented more toward others and not to the self (i.e. self is identified as the speaker and the other is the hearer) (Leech, 1983:132). Leech's maxims are influenced by his distinction between negative and positive politeness.

Tact Maxim (minimise cost to others, maximise benefit to others) (Leech, 1983:132)

Tact is defined as using "skills and understanding showed by somebody who handles people and situations successfully and without causing offence" (Hornby, et al., 1974: 879). Leech (1983: 107) argues that the Tact maxim is "the most important kind of politeness in English-speaking society". In case of the first sub-maxim, the more direct the language, the higher the cost, the less polite the action is. According to Leech (1983), this Maxim is employed for impositives (e.g. commanding, ordering, recommending, requesting, advising, and inviting) and commissives (e.g. promising, vowing, and offering). These illocutionary acts refer to some action to be executed by either the hearer (i.e. impositives) or the speaker (i.e. commissives). Under Tact Maxim, the action may be evaluated using a cost-benefit scale: an action that is beneficial to the hearer is more polite than one that is costly to him/her (1983).

Generosity Maxim (minimise benefit to self, maximise cost to self)

This maxim is self-centred, whereas the tact maxim is other-maxim. It usually works together with the Tact Maxim and concerns impositives and commissives. Shahrokhi and Bidabadi, (2013) argues that Tact Maxim receives more emphasis than the Generosity Maxim results in impositives that omit reference to the action's cost to addressee and that describe the intended goal of the act as beneficial to the speaker.

Modesty Maxim (minimise praise of self, maximise dispraise of self)

This maxim explains why utterances such as 'How clever of me' "commit the social transgression of boasting" (Leech, 1983: 136). Leech (1983) observes that certain maxims (such as the Tact Maxim and the Modesty Maxim) represent people's goal to maintain communicative harmony.

Approbation Maxim (minimise dispraise of others, maximise praise of others) (Leech, 1983:132)

The Approbation Maxim implies that the speaker should "avoid saying unpleasant things about others" (Leech, 1983: 32). In particular, the strategies of indirectness encompassed in The Politeness Principle allow speakers to balance the unpleasant aspect of criticism. Modesty Maxim works closely with the Approbation Maxim as it involves both self-dispraise and avoidance of other people dispraise, because of the impolite nature of dispraising others. Leech (1983) points out that observing the Modesty Maxim is a matter of relativity. In other words, it is effective when one avoids being boring and insincere because of continuous "self-denigration" in any context. Both of the Modesty Maxim and Approbation Maxims are concerned with expressives and assertives. The expressives are utterances whose function is to express the speaker's psychological attitude (i.e. thankfulness, congratulation, welcoming, apologising, praising, etc.) toward a certain situation (Nurdianingsih, 2006). The assertives are utterances normally used to declare the truth proposition (i.e. opinion, comment, suggestion, complain, etc.) that is expressed (Nurdianingsih, 2006).

The Agreement Maxim seeks opportunities the speaker takes to minimise disagreement between others and self, maximise agreement between others and self by expressing regret, partial disagreement, etc. (Leech, 1983:132). Leech (1983:138) observes that "there is a tendency to exaggerate agreement with other people, and to mitigate disagreement by expressing regret, partial agreement, etc.", thus enhancing other's positive face. The Agreement Maxim is concerns assertives.

Sympathy Maxim (minimise antipathy between others and self, maximise sympathy between self and others)

The Sympathy Maxim requires speakers to say things such as 'I'm terribly sorry to hear that your cat has died' rather than 'I'm terribly pleased to hear that your cat

has died' (Leech, 1983: 138). Sympathy Maxim concerns expressives and is best instantiated in condolences and congratulation speech acts.

What is significant is that Leech's politeness maxims vary in their significance across cultures. Leech (1983) points out that not all maxims are of the same importance: the Tact Maxim and the Approbation Maxim are more vital than the Generosity and Modesty Maxims because his notion of politeness is more others-oriented than self-oriented. However, Leech (1983) claims that negative politeness (i.e. avoidance of disagreement) is a more weighty consideration than positive politeness (i.e. seeking agreement).

The communication of gratitude can be viewed in relation to Leech's maxims (Approbation Maxim, sympathy Maxim, Modesty Maxim, Tact Maxim and Generosity Maxim). Conveying gratitude corresponds to the "approbation maxim" which states: (a) minimise dispraise of other and (b) maximise praise of other. The approbation maxim concerns the degree to which the thanker's remarks convey some good evaluation of the other and their actions. The Modesty Maxim also concerns the expressions the thanker uses to that minimise praise of self and maximise dispraise of self (e.g. criticising oneself). Expressing gratitude seems to fulfil also the "sympathy maxim" as it aims to minimise antipathy and maximise sympathy between self and other. With regard to the Tact Maxim and the Generosity Maxim, when a speaker intends to convey gratitude to a person for presenting a favour, he/she would use expressions that would make the thankee feel happy and satisfied and/or present a present or invite to dinner, for instance, to maximise the thankee's benefit, and the thankee does not have to do anything but accept them to minimise the thanker's benefit by conforming to the Tact Maxim. On the other hand, the thanker spends time expressing gratefulness or preparing/or paying for dinner to maximise his/her own cost, and the speaker does not intend to get anything from the thanker to minimise his/her benefit by conforming to the Generosity Maxim.

- **Critique on Leech's Politeness Principle**

Leech is also not free from criticism for lacking a clear definition of politeness (Watts et al., 1992). Despite its notable details and elaborations, Van De Walle (1993: 57) argues that Leech's framework "gets lost in detail and fails to portray the general picture". Leech's concept has been criticised by Watts et al. (1992) who argue that it is "far too theoretical to apply to actual language usage and too abstract to account for either the commonsense notion of politeness or some notion which fits into a general theory of social interaction". Van De Walle (1993:57) builds on Watts' et al. (1992) critique pointing out that politeness is a social phenomenon and "hard to fit into the tight schemes which Leech sets up to deal with every single regular pattern that crosses his path". Turner (1996) criticises his indefinite number of maxims. Jucker (1988:377) argues that the fact that there is no clear cut way of restricting the number of maxims could lead to an "ad hoc...and open ended" taxonomy. Dimitrova-Galaczi (2005) argues that according to Leech's (1983) theory, it would be possible to introduce a new maxim for every small pattern in language which has a questionable value for linguistic theory. Brown and Levinson (1987:4) contend that "if we are permitted to invent a maxim for every regularity in language use, not only will we have an infinite number of maxims, but pragmatic theory will be too constrained to permit the recognition of any counter-examples". Jautz, (2013) argues that these maxims were formulated based on intuition not empirical evidence. Gu (1992) points out the weakness in the formulation of the maxims in a very general way and suggests modifying the first two Generosity maxims to be "maximise the benefit to others, and minimise the cost to self" as well as a Tact Maxim to be "minimise the cost to other and maximise the benefit to self". However, Gu's suggestion is itself an ad hoc modification which cannot not rescue the framework from the other substantial criticisms. Petersen (2012) observes that Leech's maxims were even formulated as rules rather than proper descriptions of speakers' linguistic behaviour. His main dimension "minimise the expression of impolite beliefs; maximise the expression of polite beliefs" appears to be formulated in an imperative mode. Kasper (1998) states that such normative orientations might be

in all speech communities, but that they are subject to cultural variation. Leech (2007) considers the issue of cultural variation in his restatement on whether there is a distinction of politeness between East and West cultures. Spencer-Oatey and Jiang (2003) base their criticisms mainly on the lack of theory motivated or theory-based criterion for limiting the number of maxims. Spencer-Oatey (2002: 531) suggests a possible solution for Leech's maxims are better perceived as pragmatic constraints which help to manage the possibly conflicting face wants and sociality rights of different interlocutors. Spencer-Oatey (2000) claims that the politeness maxims all seem to have 'universal valences'; one aspect of a certain dimension is always considered more desirable than the other (e.g. 'the more modest the better', and 'the more agreement the better', though different options in different speech contexts within the same culture could be favoured.

Haberland and Mey (2002) criticise the maxim for being superfluous as they are comparable, though they may even contradict each other. It is argued that the main problem of Leech's model is that the number of maxims could be extended ad infinitum (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Eelen, 2001; Watts, 2003). Fraser (1990), Spencer-Oatey and Jiang (2003) and Watts (2003) criticise Leech's classification of illocutionary acts as being intrinsically polite or impolite. Fraser (1990: 227) argues that "[w]hile the performance of an illocutionary act can be so evaluated, the same cannot be said of the act itself". Mey (2001: 80) supports this claiming that "[b]eing inherently polite implies being always polite, without regard for the contextual factors that define what is polite in a given situation", and this view is wrong on numerous counts. Above all, Jautz (2013) contends that Leech does not even clarify how speakers use the type and the degree of politeness they need for performing speech acts. Inagaki (2007) argues that Leech is very similar to Lakoff who understands politeness with respect to pragmatic principles which lead them to establish theories using some of their underlying theoretical frameworks. Fraser (1990: 227) claims that "the problem arises because he [Leech] asserts that particular types of illocution are, ipso facto, polite or impolite. While the performance of an illocutionary act can be so evaluated, the same cannot be said of the act itself".

2.4.1.3 Brown and Levinson's face and politeness theory

Brown and Levinson (1987) have been regarded as the most popular and influential scholars in spurring a great interest in examining politeness phenomena and speech acts research within human communication (Ji, 2000). Brown and Levinson's approach is the face-saving view of politeness (Fraser, 1990). As O'Driscoll (1996) argues, both Leech's (1983) conversational-maxim view and the Brown and Levinson's (1987) face-saving view analyse politeness as a strategic device used by speakers with the intention to achieve specific goals. Consequently, politeness becomes as Kasper, (1990: 194) "redressive action taken to counterbalance the disruptive effect of face-threatening acts". In detail, Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory is based on both concepts of rationality[32] and face[33]. Brown and Levinson argue, according to the Cooperative Principle, people operate on the assumption that conversation is characterized by "no deviation from rational efficiency without a reason" (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 5) and claim that the essential motives for speakers to diverge daily linguistic behaviours from efficient and rational social norms are two concepts: politeness and face. Face and rationality are based on the assumption that they are "…assumptions that all interacting humans know that they will be expected to orient to" (Brown and Levinson, 1987:58). It is in this sense and based on this assumption that Eelen (2001) argues that both notions (i.e. Face and rationality) are social norms as they are conceptualised as standards people are expected to live up to. These concepts play a significant role in fulfilling the social goal of enhancing and maintaining 'face' throughout social interactions. In communication, face concerns are related to both perlocution and illocution. Brown and Levinson (ibid: 61) identify face as the "public self-image that every

[32] Rationality is "a precisely definable mode of reasoning from ends to the means that will achieve those ends" (Brown and Levinson, 1978, p. 63).

[33] At the time when Brown and Levinson were developing their ideas, Grice had already proposed an account of communication in which rationality played a central role. The Co-operative Principle and the Maxims of Conversation could be described as the standards of rationality in communication. Grice argues that it is the presumption that these standards are observed which streamlines hearer's reasoning in figuring out the message that the speaker intends to convey.

member wants to claim for himself" and it "can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction". Besides, they argue that "in general, people cooperate (and assume each other's cooperation) in maintaining face in interaction, such cooperation being based on mutual vulnerability of face" (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 66). So, in Brown and Levinson's view there are two Co-operative Principles: (a) Grice's Co-operative Principle, according to which the rationality of communicative behaviour is explained in terms of relevance to the topic in accordance with the Maxims of Conversation (as efficiency norms) and (b) a principle about co-operativeness in social interaction, according to which interactants need to attend to each other's face as well as to their own. Actual communicative behaviour is guided by both these principles. It denotes the emotional and social sense which anyone has and supposes anyone else to recognise. Brown and Levinson assume that face is constantly at risk because any kind of linguistic action (termed a face-threatening act or FTA) is seen as positing a threat to the interlocutor's face. This is due to the fact that Brown and Levinson (1987) consider all speech acts as face-threatening acts (FTAs) that endanger the solidarity among interlocutors. Therefore, such face-threatening acts need to be "counterbalanced by appropriate doses of politeness" (Kasper, 1994: 3207).

Gratitude expression is regarded as a face-threatening act within Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. This is because situations which call for expressing gratitude involve a degree of imposition as they involve asking the addressee to get something done outside his/her daily routine which is sometimes costly (Brown and Levinson, 1987:13-15). Brown and Levinson emphasise the significance of the idea of saving others' faces in recognizing what drives conversationalist to choose a certain linguistic option to express gratitude to redress face threatening to the speaker and hearers. Thankers are concerned with differentiating between two types of face: positive face and negative face. Whilst positive face stands for the need and the consent of the individual that self-image is acknowledged as well as appreciated by others, negative face stands for the desire not to get others' freedom of action hindered and to be autonomous (freedom of action and freedom from imposition) (Brown and Levinson,

1987:562). Eisenstein and Bodman (1993) consider expressing gratitude a complex face-threatening speech act since the speaker acknowledges a debt to the hearer, hence threatening the speaker's negative face. This implies the reciprocity notion regarding a return favour. The nature of gratitude that can engender feelings of solidarity and warmth between interlocutors can also threaten negative face (a desire to be unhindered in performing actions). This puts a great demand on a full comprehension of its usage in order to avoid miscommunication. They also highlight a balancing act of both the recipient and the benefactor where the recipient is anticipated to express "the appropriate amount of appreciation to the giver", and the benefactor is expected to "downplay the importance of the gift, favour, reward, or service" (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993: 72). Recognising gratitude as a social act forms a fruitful ground for investigating cross-cultural pragmatics. It is significant to define gratitude as a social act since, like other social acts, it shapes and is shaped by a given community's norms. These norms or "conventionalised nature of the encounter" leaves communicators with a limited "choice of lines" (Goffman 1967: 7). However, at the same time, any particular conversational purposes may influence the communicators' linguistic performance.

However, to assess the face threatening act's weight, factors such as social distance, social power, and the degree of imposition have to be considered. Thus, Brown and Levinson state that it is not only "face" demands that are universal, but also the contextual and social variables in terms of which the seriousness of FTA is judged.

Based on the level of concern for face considering the previously mentioned variables and to avoid FTAs, thankers need to decide on the suitable polite strategy they have to use:

(1) Bald on record (which means the direct way of saying things)

(2) Positive politeness (which indicates expressing solidarity)

(2) Negative politeness (which implies expressing restrains)

(4) Off-record politeness (which signifies avoiding the undeniable imposition) (Pan, 2000)

This hierarchy is structured according to the degree of face-redress that speakers can afford, from less (regard for positive face) to more (regard for negative face). In other words, the more an act threatens the thanker's or the thankee's face, the more the thankers will need to choose a higher numbered strategy from the aforementioned classification. This means that a speaker abstains from executing the FTA when the risk of face loss is exceptionally great. This shows that Brown and Levinson define politeness as being forms of `redressive' actions need to be taken in order to counterbalance the possibly disruptive influence of FTAs. Similar to Brown and Levinson (1987)'s face notion, politeness is also identified by Foley (1997) as a series of social skills which aim to ensure that everybody feels affirmed in performing a social interaction. This means that politeness is responsible for the redressing of the affront posed to the addressee's face by Face-Threatening Acts. However, the preferred styles or routine formulae are subject to social and contextual variation.

The thanker may resort to using bald on record strategies if he/she chooses to do the FTA in the most direct, clear and concise way possible without any redressive action if his/her need is efficient or urgent and greater than his/her need to maintain the hearer's face or the danger the loss of the hearer's face is small, where the speaker and hearer both agree to suspend the relevance of face demands in the interest of urgency. The thanker may use positive politeness to express solidarity and maintain the positive self-image that the hearer claims for himself/herself indicating that the speakers want what the hearer wants (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Thus, the probable face threat of an act is lessened. Strategies of positive politeness attempt to treat the thankee cordially and respectfully in discourse and reduce the threat to the positive face of the thankee (e.g. the expression of positive feeling). They are employed to make the thankee feel good about him/herself, his/her assets or interests, and are more generally employed in situations where the interlocutors know each other quite well (Foley,

1997). Besides avoiding conflict, some strategies incorporate statements of solidarity, friendship, and compliments. Examples of these are being optimistic, offering or promising, exaggerating interest in the addressee and his/her interests as well as avoiding disagreement (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Leech (1983) emphasises that positive politeness is achieved through using such intensified gratitude expressions. Negative politeness is concerned mainly with partially satisfying (redressing) the thankee's negative face (i.e. the thankee's want to maintain claims of territory and self-determination). Using negative politeness strategies indicates the speaker's assurances that he/she recognises and respects the thankee's negative-face wants and will not (or will only slightly) interfere with the his/her freedom of action. This implies the speaker's self-effacement, formality and restraint. Using Off record politeness strategies means performing an FTA indirectly. Brown and Levinson (1987: 213) state that the Speaker "must give H some hints and hope that H picks up on them and thereby interprets what S really means (intends) to say. The basic way to do this is to invite conversational implicature by violating, in some way, the Gricean Maxims of efficient communication". Negative politeness aims to show the speaker's recognition of the addressee's negative face, as well as his/her unwillingness to interfere with the addressee's action choice. Therefore, the strategies of negative politeness are employed to accentuate the avoidance of imposition on the addressee. These strategies will be imposed by the speaker on the addressee where there is a high potential for embarrassment or awkwardness. Examples of these strategies are being pessimistic and indirect, using hedges or questions, passives, nominalisations, or statements of general rules (Brown, and Levinson. 1987).

People from various cultures are different in their perception regarding putting more value on negative or positive face due to their diverse cultural values. For example, the hosts in Anglo-Saxon culture usually acquiesce when their guests state that they do not want to eat more or want to leave, whereas, in the Polish culture, they insist on them eating more and staying longer (Wierzbicka, 1991). In this respect, Arabic culture is very similar to the Polish culture. These different behaviours do not signify incompatible politeness standards (i.e. different norms

about how to be polite in a particular situation where some of these are institutionalized (e.g. that the host should insist that the guests help themselves to food and drink they have been offered) between the two cultures, but rather a diverse hierarchy of values in how politeness is demonstrated. This indicates that there are different cultural assumptions on what the likely positive and negative face wants of people are in different cultures. For example, it may be the case that there is a cultural assumption that if someone come to somebody's place as a guest and he/she wants to eat, but he/she will, out of regard for the hosts' positive face initially refuse to accept the offer because accepting the offer promptly could imply that his/her main reason for visiting is that he/she were hungry and were hoping he/she would be offered food. It may also be that there is an insitutionalised form of this type of behaviour (i.e. if an initial offer is declined, make the offer again [depending on how categorically it has been declined]. The reason for this becoming institutionalised is that there are widely held cultural assumptions about the immediate acceptance of the offer implicating something negative about the person who accepts it. However, this signifies an ideological aspect of politeness which should be further investigated and the importance of the context should not be disregarded.

Highlighting the cultural differences could help language learners not to fall in the trap of misunderstanding. Thus, in this case if Polish or Arab speakers of English apply the pragmatic norms of their first languages to English, they would appear exaggerating, insincere and pushy or as Behm (2008: 26) calls it “overdo their friendliness”, whereas they would perceive Anglo-Saxons’ behaviour as disconcerting and indifferent. While each language speaker believes that they are polite, an appreciation of the pragmatic differences between them could alleviate negative interpersonal judgement and reactions. Therefore, Wolfson (1989) and Clankie (1993) emphasise the idea that knowing the linguistic equivalent of 'thank you' in another language does not entail knowing to whom and when individuals should say it according to the interactional rules of the target community.

- **Critique on Brown and Levinson's face and politeness theory**

Though numerous researchers refer to Brown and Levinson's politeness theory as an approach to comprehending the universal principles of politeness, it has been criticised by many researchers (Sifianou, 1992; Spencer-Oatey, 2000, Eelen, 2001; Watts, 2003; Mills, 2011). The issue of its cross-cultural applicability, compatibility and validity are the foci of the criticism (Kasper, 1990; Nwoye, 1992; Mao, 1994; and Yu, 2003, Pizziconi, 2008). Watts (2010) claims that Brown and Levinson's work has initially set their task to address universals in language use and identify politeness as a paradigm case in which such universals might be found. Kasper (1990) contends that Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness is based on Anglo-European politeness concepts regardless of any cultural variation. Mao (1994) highlights the idea that their theory was firstly addressed to western cultures that are individualism–oriented[34]. Thus, it may successfully explain the behaviour of these types of cultures, but fail in collectivism-oriented cultures such as Asian-societies and Arabic-speaking countries since speaker's interpretation of politeness in light of the contextual information differs according to their particular cultural and lingual factors (Ide, 2005; Hamza, 2007a and Kádár and Mills, 2011).

Watts (2010) observes that Brown and Levinson consider the notion of face to be a universal aspect of human behaviour leading to cross-cultural research to test the claims of universality and how speech acts with face threatening potential are realised. Janney and Arndt (1993: 17) base their criticism of the notion of universal face on evidence provided by psychological and anthropological studies that the concept of self is not biologically determined, rather it is "acquired through socialization". Matsumoto (1988:403) describes Brown and Levinson's (1987) conceptualisation of face as "alien" to Japanese as they their notion of face is "fundamentally different". Matsumoto (1988) and Kasper (1990) provide

[34] Individualism involves a focus on the self as a unique, independent, and autonomous entity, and collectivism involves a focus on the interdependent self with a sense of duty toward one's group embedded in group memberships and a desire for social harmony, and conformity with group norms (Triandis, 1988; Green, Deschamps, and Paez, 2005).

evidence from the fields of anthropology and psychology in support of the collective rather than individual orientation of Japanese society (Clancy, 1986; Doi, 1981), showing that the Western face is viewed from a Japanese perspective as highly individualistic and that it is the sensitivity to individual's context and the desire to be accepted by others that is more significant in Asian cultures. Janney and Arndt, 1993: 18 claim that politeness in Japanese society is driven by the perception that "speakers are implicitly unequal in status and are socially obligated to acknowledge their positions and roles in the group, and those of their partners, in all situations". Kasper (1990: 195) contends that in cultures where the basic principle is that of "social relativism", the notion of face is perceived as the concerns about acceptance by the group, so the principle behind communication becomes the "maintenance of the relative position of others rather than preservation of an individual's proper territory" (Matsumoto, 1988: 405). Similarly, Pan (1995:480) argues that the essential motivation underlying Chinese politeness behaviour is "relation acknowledgement". In support of this argument, researchers have introduced different conceptions of self which would unsurprisingly assume necessarily different conceptualisations of face across cultures, resulting in different roles of face in politeness systems across cultures (Dimitrova-Galaczi, 2005). Examples of such notions are the independent self that emphasises "faith in the inherent separateness of distinct persons", and the interdependent self which places faith on the "fundamental connectedness of human beings to each (Markus and Kitayama, 1991:226). Triandis (1989: 511) distinguishes between tight cultures which "have clear norms that are reliably imposed and loose cultures which "either have unclear norms about most social situations or tolerate deviance from the norms". These arguments indicate that the notion of face does not have the same meaning in different cultures (Janney and Arndt, 1993).

A related strand of criticism to the disagreement over the universality of face focuses on the positive and negative face distinction. Researchers (Gu, 1990; Ide, 1989, Ide et al., 1992; Matsumoto, 1988; Nwoye, 1992; Sifianou, 1992; Wierzbicka, 1991) object to the positive and negative face dichotomy arguing that

the cultural values embedded in Brown and Levinson's framework are not essentially recognized in all societies. Drawing on this argument, the connection between face wants and types of politeness strategies suggested by Brown and Levinson is not essentially valid in every culture (O'Driscoll, 1996; Dimitrova-Galaczi, 2005). As claimed by Matsumoto (1988:405), the "notion of individuals and their rights... cannot be considered as basic to human relations in Japanese society" besides in Japan "acknowledgement and maintenance of the relative position of others, rather than preservation of an individual's proper territory, governs all social interaction". Likewise, Sifianou (1992:164) argues that threats to negative face in Greek society interaction are "relatively insignificant in comparison with the great importance attached to paying attention to ... positive face wants". Following that, Sifianou (1993:71-72) differentiates between "in-group" and "out-group" orientations clarifying that the Greeks "emphasize involvement and in-group relationships,… based on mutual dependence rather than on independence".

Eelen (2001) and Mills (2011) highlight significant problems with Brown and Levinson's theory such as the reliance on speech act theory, the model of person/individualism, their model of communication and their understanding of politeness. These theorists argue that post–Brown and Levinson work does not acknowledge that speech acts such as apologies can be performed by employing a wide variety of linguistic realisations (e.g. 'I am sorry' is used to express gratitude) and politeness markers which are generally perceived within a specific community as indexing gratitude may be used to indicate a insincere gratitude or irony. Therefore, their results give a false view of the way interactants draw on politeness resources in performing a given communicative act in certain situation. The theory assumes that most speech acts such as compliments, requests, and thanking intrinsically threaten either the hearer's or the speaker's face-wants (Vilkki, 2006). Thus, they classify speech acts as being intrinsically either positive or negative politeness strategies. However, researchers (Turner, 1996; Fukushima, 2000; Arundale, 2006; O'Driscoll, 2007) reject Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) notion of all acts face-intrinsically threatening. They claim that this

assumption is formulated based on Western values of individualism and non-imposition, values not essentially recognised by other cultures (Gu, 1990; Nwoye, 1992; Sifianou, 1992; Wierzbicka, 1991). Fraser and Nolen (1981) maintain that a linguistic expression cannot be intrinsically polite or impolite, since it must be assessed in light of the context and the evaluation which depends on the hearer in specific interactions pertinent to their interpersonal relations and wider sociocultural expectations (Arundale, 2010; O'Driscoll, 2007; Stewart, 2008) and their individual (or mutual) interactional goals (Spencer-Oatey, 2009). Kopytko (1995:488) asserts that politeness is neither a property of an act nor the act itself, stating that "irrespective of the intention of the speaker, it is the hearer who assigns politeness to any utterance within the situation in which it was heard". Held (1992:135) holds that "linguistic indicators are not in themselves polite, but ... the interplay of all the linguistic and situational factors generates a polite effect in the hearer which needs to be interpreted as such by him/her". Similarly, Kasper (1990:200) argues that "strategies and means of politeness are not endowed with absolute politeness values", rather it is the contextual constraints which "over-determine" whether the utterance is polite or impolite. BlumKulka (1990:267) gives a supportive example showing how parents' discourse to children demonstrates a "very high preference for the direct mode" which would be perceived as violating politeness norms, thus it is very far from being interpreted as impolite. This indicates that in some very specific contexts they may not be face threatening based on a set of contextual assumptions which cancel or override the face-threat. For example, insults or criticisms are face-threatening, but in some contexts they can be face-boosting in certain contexts if they are easily recognised as not meant literally, but as used to emphasise the closeness between the speaker and the hearer (certainly in some cultures) (Daly et al., 2004; Mills, 2005) whereas expressions of affection (Ebert and Floyd, 2004) or compliments (Spencer-Oatey, 2000: 18) can be face-threatening in some others if they are used ironically. The expression of gratitude is not intrinsically face-threatening in the sense that there needs not be anything special in the context that overrides the face threat. Gu (1990: 242) provides supportive examples of inviting, offering and promising which are not regarded as threatening in Chinese

culture, rather they are construed as "intrinsically impeding" in European societies. Moreover, researches reveal that some acts can be evaluated as face-threatening, but they do not necessarily be classified as polite or impolite such as banter (Kienpointner, 2008) and jocular mockery (Haugh, 2010).

Brown and Levinson's understanding of politeness is noted to be mainly based on the notion of mitigation of face threat; politeness is used to redress those face threatening acts (FTA) (Vilkki, 2006; Eelen, 2001). Brown and Levinson attempt to impose indisputably defined notions such as deference and face, ignoring the fact that politeness's functions vary across cultures, the connotations and pragmatic meanings of their concepts differ across languages and cultures based on different premises and values. These labels indicate that what counts as a threat to a hearer's or speaker's face is alike across cultures. Kasper (1990: 194) opposes the Brown and Levinson's emphasis on threat arguing that in they have built their frameworks the assumption of politeness as a strategic device, thus communication is basically viewed as "a fundamentally dangerous and antagonistic endeavor" which is not true. This leads Schmidt (1980:104) to view it as a "pessimistic, rather paranoid view of human social interaction". Nwoye (1992) asserts that relying on Brown and Levinson theory of politeness as a true one which considers social interaction an activity of incessant mutual monitoring of possible threats to the interactants' faces could deprive social exchanges of all elements of pleasure. Sifianou (1992:156) argues Brown and Levinson's view "reflects a preoccupation with impositions and a negative evaluation of politeness". Eelen (2001) mainly criticises their rule-based and static understanding of politeness and Eelen (2001:8) highlights a problem of their unclear definition of impoliteness which could only be viewed as an absence of politeness. Brown and Levinson's theory neglects deliberate face threats or face aggression which has lately become the main focus of a rapidly growing body of impoliteness research (Bousfield, 2008; Culpeper, 1996, 2005, 2011a; Locher and Bousfield, 2008). Culpeper (1996; 2007) and Mills (2009) argue that impoliteness should be considered in its own terms as a distinct entity and set of behaviours from politeness. Culpeper (2011b) adds that Brown and Levinson's category of

"negative politeness" (Speaker's attempt to not impose on Hearer) as too simplistic and individualistic and prefers to employ instead Spencer-Oatey's rapport management categories and his own classifications on how precisely impolite speech causes offence (e.g. by using a taboo word, by classifying Hearer as belonging to a stigmatised group or not belonging to the in-group, etc.).

Eelen (2001) and Mills (2011) highlight that Brown and Levinson's Person Model is inadequate in the sense it considers the speaker's conception and calculation of the best way to please their interlocutors irrespective of the addressee's understanding and interpretation of politeness. The Model Person could be viewed as a normative as it represents an 'ideal' interactant to which every real interactant is anticipated to orient (Eelen, 2001). The driving forces behind politeness (i.e. concepts of rationality and strategy are criticised based on the fact that there is no evidence to presume that "biological bases of polite communication are logically organized" and that politeness are intrinsically rational (Lieberman cited in Janney and Arndt, 1993: 19). Therefore, Janney and Arndt (1993: 19) claim that such a theory of politeness is "biologically suspect" which invalidates the strong claim for rational strategy in politeness systems. Werkhofer (1992) and Culpeper (2011a) criticises Brown and Levinson account of politeness for failing to present an adequate conception of the context regardless of its importance in judgments of politeness. Eelen (2001) criticises them for suggesting a universal Model Person with the ability to rationalise form communicative goals to the optimal means of achieving these goals. This Model Person can be seen as the embodiment of universally valid human social characteristics and principles of social reasoning (Eelen, 2001:5). Mills (2003) is doubtful of Brown and Levinson's claim that identifying (im)polite action is simple and easy, pointing out that it is not always the case that both the speaker and the hearer share the same background. That is why Mills emphasises the significance of the context in the assessment of politeness. According to Watts (2003:88), Brown and Levinson's model is "freeing the speakers to select in the form of a decision-tree through which they have to work their way before they can arrive at the appropriate utterances in which to frame the FTA. Eelen (2001:128) criticises Brown and Levinson's

strategic nature of politeness for creating the impression that "speakers are only polite in order to realize their personal goals". This sort of system excludes the likelihood that two or more strategies are used at the same time. Mills (2011) argues that Brown and Levinson view communication between speakers and hearers to be straightforward and perfect. This implies it ignores the various interpretations of utterances by different interlocutors which might cause misunderstanding. Their conceptualisation of politeness as a set of rational strategies to soften the possibly undesirable effects of face-threatening theory is anticipated to discern and acknowledge their sense of place in relation to both the situational context and social hierarchy. Volition is "the aspect of politeness which allows the speaker a considerably active choice, according to the speaker's intention from a relatively wider range of possibilities" (Hill et al., 1986: 348). Ide (1989) explains that discernment implies that all speakers are anticipated to discern and acknowledge their sense of place in relation to both the situational context and social hierarchy when selecting linguistic forms or expressions. Similarly, Terkourafi (2001: 11) views discernment as "acknowledging one's understanding of the situation and of the relation between conversational participants, and indicating this understanding by means of an appropriate linguistic choice". This means that the speaker should passively follow the requirements of the social system. That is, "once certain factors of the addressee and situation are noted, the selection of an appropriate linguistic form and/or appropriate behaviour is essentially automatic" (Hill et al. 1986: 348).

According to Werkhofer (1992), Mills (2011) and (Culpeper, 2011a) the three social variables denote a narrow approach to social realities because they are defined as static entities that determine polite meanings neglecting the dynamic aspects of social language use. Culpeper (2011a) argues that Brown and Levinson (1987: 12) admit that they "underplay the influence of other factors" such as the presence of a third party and rights and obligations in determining the gravity of face threat and assume that the impact of the determined variables is independent of each other. Grainger et al. (2010) question the extent to which the notion of face can be a culturally relative phenomenon. Coupland et al. (1988) calls for an

explicit distinction between positive and negative politeness instead of viewing them as two sides of one coin and a consideration of contextual variables within ongoing interaction in greater detail. Culpeper (1996; 2011a) criticises Brown and Levinson's model for ignoring the layperson's conception of politeness and being incapable of analysing politeness beyond the sentence level; i.e. what he calls 'inference' which is the level at which a great deal of both linguistic politeness and impoliteness occurs. Finally, the several distinct points against which criticism has been raised could be summarised as follows: (a) the conceptualisation of face, (b) the reduction of politeness to positive and negative face, (c) the assumption that politeness is motivated by the need to mitigate face threats, (d) the adoption of a rules/norms based view of communicative interaction, (e) the adoption of some key assumptions of speech act theory.

2.4.1.4 Scollon and Scollon's politeness system

Rather than focusing on politeness when using a single speech act as Brown and Levinson, 1987), Scollon and Scollon (1995) focus on politeness in discourse (communication). Brown and Levinson and Scollon and Scollon have different assumptions about the human communication, i.e. about how human communication works. Brown and Levinson seem to see it as the production and interpretation of speech acts guided by the Co-Operative Principles and the Maxims of Conversation and constrained by face concerns through the use of a set of politeness strategies. Scollon and Scollon seem to see communication as a process which involves the negotiation of meaning through discourse. Scollon and Scollon propose a more social interactional perspective on politeness and the negotiation of face relationship. Scollon and Scollon's (1995) politeness theory is also well-known in the intercultural communication field aiming to realise the entire communicative system as part of politeness system. Scollon and Scollon's (1995) face is analysed taking into accounts individual and group needs. Due to the ambiguity of language and the fact that meanings are jointly constructed by the interlocutors, it is essential that the receiver draw inferences about the sender's intentions (Scollon and Scollon 1995). Scollon and Scollon (1995: 35) view the

concept of face as "the negotiated public image, mutually granted each other by the participants in a communicative event." They define politeness systems as "general and persistent regularities in face relationships" (Scollon and Scollon, 1995:42). Their politeness systems consist of three subsystems: the solidarity politeness system, the deference politeness system, as well as the hierarchical politeness system. These three systems are distinctive generally based on the existence of social distance (+D or -D) and power difference (+P or -P) among the interlocutors. A solidarity politeness system indicates that the speakers may feel neither social distance (-D) nor power difference (-P) among them (friends). According to the deference politeness system, speakers are deemed equals or near equals but deal with each other at a distance (classmates). In the hierarchical politeness system, that is perhaps extensively recognised amongst educational organisations, government and companies, "lower" status speakers employ independence politeness strategies (correspond to Brown and Levinson's negative politeness) and the "higher" status speakers employ involvement politeness strategies (corresponding to Brown and Levinson's positive politeness). Involvement is used to accentuate that "the person's right and need to be considered a normal, contributing, or supporting member of society" (Scollon and Scollon, 2011: 46). Involvement is realised by such discourse strategies as paying attention to others, claiming in-group membership, using first names, or to show that the speaker is closely connected to the hearer. The concept of independence is used to emphasise the individuality and autonomy of the participants and could be realised by certain strategies such as using formal names and titles, giving options to the interactants and making minimal assumptions (Scollon and Scollon, 2011). Thus, in intercultural interaction, if the hierarchical politeness system is favoured in one culture, following the solidarity politeness system would be viewed as being discourteous and crossing a red line when using the involvement strategies toward an individual in a subordinate position. Likewise, if the solidarity politeness system is preferred in a context, using the independent strategies can be considered as cold and aloof. Scollon and Scollon assert that the perception of face, involvement and independence should not be absolute; rather the notion of

face must be projected in any interaction to show the appropriate degree of independence or involvement to the interactants.

To sum up, the traditional theories seem to represent rule-based and static understanding of politeness being not able to an account for politeness phenomena in various cultures (Eelen, 2001). Escandell-Vidal, (1996: 629) argues that several empirical studies do not always confirm these traditional claims of politeness revealing that "things were not that simple: cultures strongly differ not only in forms, but also in the social meanings associated with various strategies, in the internal structure of speech acts, or in the expectations concerning verbal behaviour". Therefore, a shift from focusing on a theoretically-motivated understanding to a dynamic explanation of what counts as politeness in light of the participants' evaluations is needed as will be discussed in the next section.

2.4.2 Post-modern views and discursive approaches to politeness

The post-modern[35] views and discursive[36] approaches to politeness have been mounted by Eelen (2001) who endeavoured to identify common deficiencies of traditional politeness theories and the evidence of empirical studies that do not support them. Eelen's critique of politeness theories is much appreciated by researchers for presenting a challenge to the traditional views of politeness and heralding a new type of politeness studies (Locher and Watts, 2005; Arundale, 2006; 2010; Inagaki, 2007; Haugh, 2010; Culpeper 2011a; Mills, 2011). Eelen (2001) argues that most of politeness research over the past twenty-five years lacks conceptual and theoretical clarity. Culpeper (2011b: 411) supports Eelen's viewpoint arguing that they "do not offer an adequate account of communication,

[35] Mills (2011:28) describes postmodernism as "a type of theoretical move which questions all concepts and evaluations and is sceptical of all attempts at grand narrative or metanarrative, that is, all overarching theories which attempt to generalise or universalise".

[36] Kádár (2011: 249) claims that "discursive is a vague definition and its basic virtue is that it presuposes diversity: this approach icludes various insightful conceptualisation of linguistic politeness that often have not much in common. Nevertheless…the discursive approach is a 'field', because discursive research shares some related basic concepts".

or of politeness in particular". Eelen (2001:253) criticises the rule-based and static understanding of politeness and triggers a paradigm shift from focusing on theoretically-motivated understandings to explicating the participants' evaluations. His critique is based on certain issues that he considers the crucial biases and often unwarranted presuppositions upon which politeness theories are built. He criticises their reliance on Speech Act Theory assuming that politeness is strategic and can be unproblematically recognised by interlocutors. He demonstrates that they support the speaker's production and role and overlook the hearer's role particularly in the evaluation of what could be viewed as polite or impolite behaviour. Impoliteness is not only evaluated in light of the speaker's communicative act, but also of hearers' perception of that act. They also give more importance to the polite side than to the impolite side of the linguistic behaviour. This leads them to conceptualise politeness and impoliteness as opposites and has resulted in a scarcity of research into impoliteness. They are based on a consensus model of a static view of shared social norms which cannot sufficiently explain empirical and individual variability and an 'a priori' conception of culture in which the social level is causally prior to people. This results in the determination of people by the social level and their disappearance from the cybernetic picture of society[37].

A very significant characteristic of Eelen's (2001) framework is his distinction between two concepts of politeness which he claims most politeness theorists confuse: first order politeness/ politeness1 and second order politeness/ politeness2. Correspondence to both concepts originated in anthropological linguistics (i.e. emic and etic[38]). Politeness1 (emic) refers to "the informants' conscious statements about his or her notion of politeness" and to "his or her

37 More explanation of the cybernetic picture of society is provided in Section 2.6.

38 Kottak (2006: 47) states that the emic approach "investigates how local people think" (i.e. the way they perceive and classify the world, and their rules for behaviour, imagining and explaining things. "The etic (scientist-oriented) approach shifts the focus from local observations, categories, explanations, and interpretations to those of the anthropologist. The etic approach realises that members of a culture often are too involved in what they are doing to interpret their cultures impartially. When using the etic approach, the ethnographer emphasises what he or she considers important."

spontaneous evaluation of politeness, (of his or her own or someone else's behaviour) made in the course of actual interaction" (ibid: 77) whereas Politeness2 (etic) refers to "outsiders' accounts of insiders' behaviour, involving distinctions not relevant to those insiders" (ibid: 78). In other words, first order politeness/ politeness1 refers to commonsense notions of politeness: understanding of what establishes politeness from participants' views in interaction[39], whereas second order politeness/ politeness2 refers to scientific conceptualisation of politeness (i.e. theorists' understanding of politeness and generalisations about politeness and impoliteness). Eelen further argues that a theory of politeness should be an investigation of politeness1 (i.e. examination of the everyday notion of politeness/understanding the linguistic and social world. Therefore, the relationship between politeness1 and politeness2 "should be carefully monitored throughout the entire analytical process-not only at the input stage" (Eelen, 2001:31). This is mainly because awareness of the distinction between politeness1 and politeness2 can prevent following the unidirectional Hineininterpretation in analysing the data, i.e. direct and thoughtless transposition of the scientist's concepts into laypeople's minds without questioning their everyday reality (Eelen, 2001). However, Eelen (2001:253) asserts that both notions of politeness "must not simply be different and separate systems of thought without any real interface, but rather must interlock to form a coherent picture" such as using the notion of 'habitus'[40] in explaining politeness should be clearly manifested in social reality, and in relation to the commonsense notion of shared norms.

In order to overcome these shortcomings of the traditional theories of politeness, Eelen (2001:247) proposes an alternative approach that should "[take] account of the hearer's position and the evaluative moment; [be] able to capture both

[39] Politeness1 encompasses the participants' evaluations, expressive behaviour or metapragmatic discourse (Eelen, 2001).

[40] Bourdieu (1991: 12) describes habitus as "the disposition [which] generates practices, perceptions and attitudes which are 'regular' without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule'. Further elaboration of the notion of habitus is provided in the following Subsections and Section 2.6.

politeness and impoliteness; provide a more dynamic, bi-directional view of the social/individual relationship; and thus acknowledge the individual (in terms of both variability and creativity) as well as evolution and change as intrinsic to the very nature of politeness". Following Eelen, I have analysed my data based on the evaluations made by the participants' judgements on what count as polite and impolite regarding the communication of gratitude and what are the contextual and social variables that might influence their judgement and perception and in what ways rather than relying on a theoretical model of politeness.

By proposing this approach, Eelen aims to shift the focus of research on politeness methodologically, away from what he characterises as "the notion of politeness as a form of (expressive) behaviour, driven by a system of culturally shared social norms, and constituting a socially regulative force in the maintenance of social order and stability" (2001:245) towards a view of politeness which emphasises the argumentative, evaluative and discursive moods that integrate interaction in real-life language settings. Hamza (2007b) summarises the basic characteristics of politeness 1: evaluativity (i.e. politeness and impoliteness can be evaluated by others), argumentativity (i.e. politeness is used in social situations to achieve a goal), polite-ness (i.e. politeness 1 refers to the polite end of the polite-impolite spectrum and the idea that everyone considers themselves and their group to be polite), normativity (i.e. politeness is a result of social norm), Modality and Reflexivity (i.e.. speakers have options about which strategies to use in politeness). Eelen's aim reflects the prioritisation of interlocutors' evaluations in im/politeness research over comprehensive reliance on the analyst's viewpoint (Davies, 2011). Eelen (2001) suggests that theorists should focus their analyses on politeness1 which involves both the way politeness is actually manifested in communicative behaviour and the associated common-sense ideologies of politeness. However, Harris (2011) argues that it is relatively unusual for hearers to reveal their assessments of im/politeness explicitly in most contexts.

Eelen (2001) has significantly contributed to the field of politeness particularly his critical examination of the social and linguistic presuppositions of politeness

theories. He attempts to improve understanding of social reality and its connection to language and interaction, his alternative framework for politeness theory which addresses the issues he raises regarding the existing politeness theories (Harris, 2004). Although this book is a challenging critique of politeness theory, it neither offers a workable model for analysis of politeness nor clearly identifies its principles and notions such as 'norm' and 'culture' (Hamza, 2007b). Murata, (2008) maintains that Eelen's alternative model is not elaborated adequately enough to be employed as a realistic analytical tool. However, it could be argued that he has pioneered a new era in politeness studies (Haugh, 2007a; Inagaki, 2007; Mills, 2011).

The dominance of the traditional view of politeness theory has been challenged by various approaches which Mills (2011) argues could be classified as post-modern or discursive (e.g. Eelen, 2001; Culpeper, 2003; Culpeper et al. 2008; Locher and Watts, 2005; Spencer-Oatey, 2005; Arundale, 2006; 2010; Locher, 2006a; Geyer, 2008). These postmodern approaches to politeness reject the premises of Grice's Co-operative Principle and speech act theory adopted by (Lakoff, 1973; Brown and Levinson, 1987; 1978; Leech, 1983), emphasise the 'chameleon-like' nature of politeness (Watts, 2003:24), the heterogeneity of norms and practices within cultures (Mills, 2003) and that the analyst should explain the participant's perceptions and understanding of politeness and the discursive struggle over politeness rather than impose a particular theoretical view of politeness (Terkourafi, 2005a). The discursive struggle over (im)politeness, as Watts (2003: 143) explains, "does not claim that a particular utterance is a realisation of polite behaviour nor to explain why. It tries to offer ways of recognising when a linguistic utterance might be open to interpretations by interlocutors as (im)polite". Though such approaches might have subtle yet significant differences, Culpeper (2011b: 414) lists the typical characteristics of the discursive approaches of politeness (as will be discussed in the next sub-sections):

"The claim that there is no one meaning of the term "politeness" but it is a site of discursive struggle;

The centrality of the perspective of the participants;

An emphasis of situated and emergent meanings rather than pre-defined meanings;

The claim that politeness is evaluative in character (that is used in judgements of people's behaviours);

An emphasis on context;

The claim that politeness is intimately connected with social norms which offer a grasp on the notion of appropriateness;

The reduction of the role of intention in communication (it is rejected, or at least weakened or reconceptualised);

A focus on the micro, not the macro; and

A preference for qualitative methods of analysis as opposed to quantitative"

Overall, these theories raise some doubts on Brown and Levinson's (1987) intrinsic face-threatening acts and concurrently motivate a dynamic of face notion as relational and interactional work (Culpeper et al., 2010). Rather than assuming that (im)politeness involves merely the speakers' choices (i.e. a set of linguistic items which explicitly indicate politeness and impoliteness), they are inclined to concentrate on the impact of social factors on the interpretation and production of politeness, as done in this thesis (Mills, 2003; Locher, 2004). This type of analysis helps them to retain the individuals' conception and set it within social ideology (Mills, 2011). They share the following target in politeness research:

> a shift in emphasis away from the attempt to construct a model of politeness which can be used to predict when polite behaviour can be expected or to explain post-factum why it has been produced and towards the need to pay closer attention to how participants in social interaction perceive politeness.
>
> Watts et al. (2005: xix)

The discursive approaches accentuate the contested nature of politeness norms across- and within cultures. Haugh (2007b: 297) concludes that the discursive approach abandons the pursuit of not only an a priori predictive theory of politeness or a post facto descriptive theory of politeness (Watts, 2003: 142, 2005: xix), but also any attempts to develop a universal, cross-culturally valid theory of politeness altogether (Locher and Watts, 2005: 16). This indicates these approaches reject an overarching theory of politeness that attempts to universalise or generalise as it leads to stereotyping (Mills, 2011). Mills (2003) notes that the stereotypes of politeness norms are largely based on the dominant group' speech styles and ideologies. Mills (2011: 35) presents a coherent view of the discursive approaches' position regarding the theorising of politeness:

Discursive theorists aim to develop a more contingent type of theorising which will account for contextualised expressions of politeness and impoliteness, but these positions will not necessarily generate a simple predictive model. These theorists are also concerned not to delve too deeply into interactants' intentions and what we as analysts can infer about their intentions and feelings, but rather they are concerned with what interactants display in their speech to others, and what this can tell the other interactants about where they see themselves in the group, how they view the group and what values they assume the group members hold.

Though most discursive theorists are more interested in contextual analysis rather than generalisation informed by stereotypical thinking, Mills (2009) and Kádár and Mills (2011) believe that it is conceivable that generalisations can be made about tendencies within language groups (hedged by discussing other non-dominant norms within that group). However, discursive theorists generally recognise that stereotypes of how individuals should behave have a significant influence on interlocutors' judgment of whether an utterance is polite or impolite (Mills, 2011). Okamoto (2004) gives an instance of a behavioural norm in the Japanese community that Japanese women should use more honorific or polite language than men, thus not conforming to this norm might result in judging them

impolite. The fact that cultures are different regarding their judgments about politeness has given a paramount importance of the jointly constructed view of politeness of both the speaker and the addressee (Terkourafi, 2005). This means that the meaning of politeness can be only established in situated exchanges and not based on prediction or generalisation.

Though post-modern approaches to politeness share some common features, they have their own distinctive features as will be explained the following subsections.

2.4.2.1 Locher and Watts' relational work

Politeness is viewed as a "relational work" rather than "facework" employed by interlocutors for establishing and maintaining relationships (Locher and Watts 2005; Watts et al., 2005; Locher, 2006a). Relational work is identified as the "work individuals invest in negotiating relationships with others, which includes impolite as well as polite, or merely appropriate behaviour, is a useful concept to help investigate the discursive struggle over politeness" (Locher and Watts, 2005: 9). Watts (2003) criticises the traditional theories of politeness for overlooking the ambiguities of the notion of politeness. Watts (ibid) distinguishes between first-order politeness and second-order politeness [41] and indicates that first-order politeness is not prescriptive but descriptive in nature. Watts (2003:23) rejects considering second-order politeness as a realistic analytic tool arguing that "there can be no idealised, universal scientific concept of (im)politeness (i.e., (im)politeness2) which can be applied to instances of social interaction across cultures, subcultures and languages". Instead, Watts (ibid :19) claims that a theory of politeness should be a descriptive theory of first-order politeness and be able "to offer a way of assessing how the members themselves may have evaluated that behaviour".

Watts claims that politeness and its approximate lexical equivalents may vary in the associated connotations across groups and individuals. Thus, Watts

[41] Both concepts are already explained in Section 2.4.2

(2003:142) proposes that politeness is "centred on the discursive struggle over impoliteness". The discursive struggle over impoliteness implies that the evaluation of what is (im)polite by lay people is always disputable and mainly depends on the interpretation of that behaviour from interlocutors' perspective in overall social interaction (Watts, 2003). This further indicates that their perspective of politeness as relational work is much wider than just Brown and Levinson's (1987) mitigation of face-threatening acts (Locher and watts 2005: 10), rather it covers "the entire continuum from polite and appropriate to impolite and inappropriate behaviour" (Locher, 2004: 51). Following Goffman's (1967) notion of face, Watts (2003:125) views face as "a socially attributed aspect of self that temporarily on loan for the duration of the interaction in accordance with the line or lines that the individual has adopted". Watts states that accepting this conceptualisation of face means that people are attributed face socially in accordance with the line(s) they adopt for certain communicative purposes. Vilkki (2006) indicates that Watts' perception of face means that people may be assigned different faces on different interactions and all social interaction is based on individuals' face needs. Félix-Brasdefer (2008) argues that Watts perceives face as the condition for maintaining the appropriate line of behaviour throughout social communication. To clearly explain what is meant by appropriate linguistic behaviour, Watts introduces the notion of 'politic behaviour'. He defines politic behaviour as:

Socioculturally determined behaviour directed towards the goal of establishing and or maintaining in a state of equilibrium the personal relationships between the individuals of a social group…during the ongoing process of interaction.

(Watts, 1989: 135)

The construction of what accounts for as appropriate linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour to social constraints in certain type of social interaction may have been prior to initiating an interaction, however it is also negotiable during the communication regardless of the interlocutors' expectations (Watts, 2003). In order to assess politic behaviour, Watts et al. (2005) suggest that five factors: the

type of social activity (i.e. the setting, the interlocutors' relationships and intentions, etc.), the speech events within that activity, the shared set of assumptions regarding the information state, the shared set of cultural expectations regarding the social activity and the associated speech events, the social familiarity and power relationships of the interlocutors. This highlights the necessity of considering both the speaker and his/her hearer adequately (Watts, 2003). Watts (ibid: 149) claims that his conception of politic behaviour is comparable to Bourdieu's (1977) concept of habitus, which he describes as "the set of dispositions to act in certain ways, which generates cognitive and bodily practices in the individual. The set of dispositions is acquired through socialization". These are the normal ways of behaving within communities which inculcated in individuals who do not ponder over when performing them (Bourdieu, 1991).

To distinguish linguistic politeness from politic behaviour, Watts (2003) defines polite behaviour as any linguistic behaviour which is perceived to be beyond politic behaviour (what is anticipated and appropriate in certain interaction) and is potentially classified as polite. Watts (2003) defines impolite behaviour as is what is regarded inappropriate by the interlocutors in a given interaction. Watts (2003:117) indicates that a discursive understanding of politeness appears incompatible with a simplistic understanding of social norms as "'rules'…decided upon by others rather than by ourselves, and that we are socially constrained to abide by". Locher (2004: 85) states that "norms are not to be understood as static rules, but as in a flux, shaped altered and maintained by these same members of society". Watts' concept of politic/polite behaviour is associated with Bourdieu's notion of habitus in the sense that what an individual construe as polite or impolite is based on their linguistic habitus and the available linguistic resources (Murata, 2008). Consequently, Watts (2003: 19-20) argues that politeness theory should concentrate on politeness1 (i.e. what interlocutors perceive to be beyond what is expectable, i.e., salient behaviour) and be able to "locate possible realisations of polite or impolite behaviour and offer a way of assessing how the members themselves may have evaluated that behaviour". Through integrating his own

conception of the emergent social network into his framework, Watts (2003: 5) aims to find “a way of illustrating how participants in social interaction actually construct and/or reproduce and modify their evaluations of politic behaviour and relational work and the place that ‘(im)polite’ behaviour has in this construction and reproduction”.

Empirically examining a number of semi (formulaic), conventionalised and ritualised utterances of certain speech acts (e.g. greeting, thanking, or leave-taking which are often claimed to be used to express politeness in English, Watts (2003) deduces that linguistic behaviours (utterances) should not be regarded intrinsically polite or impolite, as they are open to interpretations in certain situations. Watts (2003: 23) bases his argument on the basis that "it is impossible to evaluate (im) politeness behaviour out of the context of real, ongoing verbal interaction" and also "social interaction is negotiated on-line" (2003: 23). Locher (2006b) uses the relational term to assert that only interlocutors can decide which behaviour is considered polite and which is not. Rather than focusing on the individual utterances, Bousfield (2008: 41) affirms that impolite acts should be examined along with the context in which impoliteness emerges (i.e. the acts that lead to it and the consequences of the act on the addressee) because “impoliteness does not exist in a vacuum”. Based on this argument, it seems impossible to develop a predictive model of linguistic (im)politeness (Watts, 2003). However, Mills (2011) argues that though Bousfield and other discursive theorists stress the importance of context, they tend occasionally to consider politeness and impoliteness as an element agreed upon prior to conversation such as Bousfield’s (2008: 187) “impolite containing utterances”.

Though Watts’ (2003: 262) notion of politic behaviour is perceived as “contribution to the overall study of human social interaction and the significance of language in interaction”, Jautz (2013) finds it a controversial concept and calls upon special attention to be paid to differentiating between politic behaviour and what others theorists call politeness. Though Watts (2003:149) views politeness as a social practice carried out within "arbitrary social organisations of space and

time" and "individuals and groups are defined by their relative positions in them", the notion of social groups has been left unidentified (Murata, 2008). The fact that the application of Watts' concepts to empirical data depends completely on him being a participant observer (i.e. family member of the interlocutors), signifies that he relies on his background knowledge to decide on the criteria to follow in assessing politic behaviour (Jautz, 2013). Bousfield (2008) also questions their notion of marked yet appropriate, egocentric yet empathic nature of politeness. Félix-Brasdefer (2008) calls for validating it cross-culturally. Mills (2011) argues that Locher and Watts' (2005) relational work leaves politeness and impoliteness rather undefined and their categorisation of 'over polite' and 'non-polite' does not provide the ways to evaluate how these classifications are made by interactants or theorists. Watts (2003:164) admits that by stating "[t]here is simply no objective means to measure our feel for politic behaviour, which of course makes it as open to discursive struggle as the term '(im)polite' itself". This is mainly because the politic behaviour associated with the interlocutors' habitus in social interactions (Watts and Locher, 2005). Though Locher and Watts' approach is considered good particularly for micro level analysis of the data, it cannot be used for macro level analysis of a whole discourse, since it emphasis is restricted to only detail parts of interaction (Murata, 2008).

2.4.2.2 Arundale's Face Constituting Theory

Arundale (2006) proposes an alternative theory of face and facework rooted in societal constructionism known as Face Constituting Theory. Face Constituting Theory addresses the question "How do participants achieve face in everyday talk? explaining face and facework as accomplished by participants involved in face-to-face communication in situated relationships" (Arundale, 2010: 2078). This indicates that 'face' is a relational phenomenon that is conceptualised in light of the relationship which is interactionally accomplished between two or more persons at both culture-general and culture-specific levels, rather than a person-centred concept, such as Brown and Levinson's (1987) self-image/social identity. This means that face itself entails examining the distinct perspective provided by

interactional achievement models of communication (Arundale, 1999). This is because socially appropriate conduct can be recognised through cooperative and non-cooperative communication.

Haugh (2013) highlights the importance of conceptualising face as inherently relational as it does not only allow the analyst to consider relational identities (i.e. persons-in-relationships) in examining facework, but it also extends the analysis of interpersonal phenomena to include a more explicit illustration of relationships in interaction. Arundale (2010) envisions persons as individuals construed by others with whom they are connected in social conversation and conceptualises relationships as the establishing and preserving of connection between individuals. This means that persons are constituted through relationships, whereas relationships are essentially established by persons in interaction (Haugh, 2013).

Arundale (2013: 9) claims that the conceptualisation of face as "an individually-based social want or aspect of identity" results in two significant analytical consequences: it "affords one's observing of specific individual persons, generating and analysing data on their cognitions, and interpreting their utterances in terms of their cognitive states" and "constrains one's recognising and hence observing specific social relationships among persons, generating and analysing data on persons as embedded in evolving relationships, and interpreting their utterances in terms of their emerging relational network". Accordingly, he proposes that the analysis of face notion should be enclosed in a wider interactional attainment model of communication, viz., the Conjoint Co-Constituting Model of Communication. The Conjoint Co-constituting Model of Communication is "a conceptualization of the achieving of meaning and action in interaction" (Arundale, 2010: 2078). The conjoint co-constitution is defined as the manner in which "each participant's cognitive processes in interpreting and designing are responsive to prior, current, or potential contributions the other participants make to the stream of interaction" (Arundale, 2005: 59). This shows that the central principle of Arundale's model is applied on the basis of one

communicative phenomenon, namely politeness implicature (Haugh, 2007a). Haugh (ibid: 85) defines politeness implicature as "something implied in addition to what is literally said which having been communicated in this way shows what the speaker thinks of the hearer or the speaker, relative to their expectations about what the speaker should show he/she thinks of the hearer or the speaker". Haugh (ibid) argues that the process by which politeness implicatures arise in Arundale's model is referred to as "co-constitution" in order to differentiate it from Brown and Levinson's (1987) and Leech's (1983) intention-based views of implicature.

According to the Conjoint Co-constituting Model of Communication, politeness implicature emerges in dynamic interaction, so it should be co-constituted taking into account the standpoints of both the speakers' interim meaning, and the hearer's provisional understanding and interpretations of the speaker's utterance, and how his/her interpretations become inter-dependent through the adjacent sequential production of more utterances in interaction which mutually limit and reciprocally impact one another's formulation of interpretations. Thus, the three conversational principles underlying the co-constituting politeness implicatures are the Recipient Design Principle (RDP), the Sequential Interpreting Principle (SIP), and the Adjacent Placement Principle (APP) (Arundale, 2010). In detail, The RDP can be used to account for the processes that underlie speaker visualisation of politeness implicature, whereas the SIP can be used to account for the processes that underlie hearer interpretations of politeness implicature. However, interlocutors assume that it is only through APP that their utterances are linked to those of the other in sequence. This indicates that it is due to the APP that the interdependent nature of co-constitution of politeness implicature emerges and becomes apparent. This means that the emergent and collaborative characteristics of communication are a consequence of the way in which conceptions of politeness implicature are conjointly co-constituted by participants in conversation. Haugh (2007a) confirms that individual's social position in Japanese does not exist prior to or independently of interaction, rather it is constituted, retained or challenged discursively through interaction.

2.4.2.3 Terkourafi's frame-based model

Though the discursive approach of politeness has opened up new avenues for greater theoretical and analytical models, it is not with no theoretical or methodological inconsistencies, as argued by (Terkourafi, 2005; Haugh, 2007a). Terkourafi (ibid) states that post-modern approaches to politeness seem "at least in the way they deal with data…unable to bring about the paradigm change within politeness studies to which they aspire". Thus, Terkourafi (2005) suggests that a frame-based model that fits within the traditional and the post-modern views to develop a type of analysis that is rigorous, concerned with context and facilitate making generalisation about (im)politeness. Frame is defined by Geyer (2008: 38) "a set of expectations which rests on previous experience" and by Terkourafi (2005: 253) as "psychological real implementations of habitus". Mills (2011) states that the experience of people's ways of interaction in the past constitutes a frame for the way they are expected to interact in the present.

Terkourafi (2005) argues that though post-modern theories of politeness have arisen out of a deep-seated dissatisfaction with traditional theories of politeness, they share two crucial premises. In particular, they are both theory-driven. Both of them are based on concrete theoretical preoccupations which influence their way of gathering and analysing their data; speech-act theory and the Co-operative Principle in the case of traditional theories and the notions of politeness1 and discursive struggle over politeness in the case of traditional theories. This theoretical focus is clearly manifested in their attitude toward the notion of norms. Where traditional theories presuppose norms are a priori, thus they do engage in quantitative analyses of the data, post-modern theories defy the existence of norms and pre-empt the value and quantitative analyses Terkourafi (2005). Terkourafi (2005) supports Eelen's view that norms should be perceived as dynamic not static and asserts the significance of empirically grounded norms as recognised regularities in certain situation. Terkourafi (ibid: 241) adds that both traditional and postmodern theories share views in examining politeness on the pragmatic level as a particularised implicature: "evaluations of politeness

presuppose specific addresses in specific encounters, hence no prediction is (or can be) made about the impact of linguistic expressions until one knows the specific context in which they were used".

Bringing to light both theories' common underlying assumptions, Terkourafi breaks her frame-based view from them through adopting a quantitative methodology which makes a minimal a priori supposition about the interpretation of the data. Terkourafi (2001) states that different from both theory-driven views the frame-based view is data-driven in two respects. It is based on analysis of a large corpus of spontaneous interactional exchanges between native speakers of Cypriot Greek combining both speech-act theoretic and conversation-analytic criteria. The offers and requests utterances were identified, and then classified based on whether the act was presented as desirable to the hearer or to the speaker respectively. The frame-based view is also data-driven in the sense that it acknowledges norms to the extent that these can be empirically observed (Terkourafi, 2005). To observe norms empirically in the collected data, the observed norms were analysed quantitatively in order to establish "regularities of co-occurrence of linguistic expressions and their extra-linguistic contexts of use" (Terkourafi, 2005: 247). To disclose these regularities, nonce real-life contexts must be classified into types of contexts. The co-occurring components are linguistic expressions and social categories (e.g. the participants' social status and familiarity, age, sex, the setting of the interaction, and whether an act is happening for the first time or is repeated). Terkourafi indicates that Bourdieu's notion of habitus can be observed when analysing the regularities and norms of politeness. Terkourafi states that though such social categories are fixed early in a conversation based on participants' anticipations and some other sense data, they are open to renegotiation throughout the interaction.

Terkourafi's model acknowledges both generalised and particularised implicatures of politeness. Terkourafi, (2003:150) explains that "an implicature will be particularised if the speaker's utterance in context is indirect or ambivalent, or conventionalised for some use but used in a context other than the

one relative to which it is conventionalised" whereas "such an implicature will be generalised if the speaker uses an expression which is conventionalised for some use relative to the (minimal) context of utterance". Therefore, Terkourafi (2005: 251) notes that "Politeness is achieved on the basis of a generalised implicature when an expression is uttered in a context with which - based on the addressee's previous experience of similar contexts - expression *x* regularly co-occurs. In this case, rather than engaging in full-blown inferencing about the speaker's intention, the addressee draws on that previous experience (represented holistically as a frame) to derive the proposition that 'in uttering expression *x* the speaker is being polite' as a generalised implicature of the speaker's utterance. On the basis of this generalised implicature, the addressee may then come to hold the further belief that the speaker *is* polite". Thus, the views about the speaker's politeness may sometimes be attained unintentionally is explained by frame-based/achieved-via-generalised-implicature politeness and when they require more effort on other events is accounted for by non frame-based/achieved-via-particularised-implicature politeness (Terkourafi, 2005).

To address the post-modern theories' concern about the consequences of projecting the analyst's own interpretation onto the data, Terkourafi relies on the participants' own noticeable rejoinders which form the basis for classifying any specific utterance into a particular type of act, and as a polite realisation of that act. Thus, Terkourafi's perception of politeness is a matter of frequency because she argues that politeness is based on the regular co-occurrence and unchallenged realisations of specific linguistic expressions within certain types of contexts. The frame-based approach allows for statistical analysis of norms within societies based on quantifying the occurrences of particular forms of language in certain contexts for predictions about interactants' possible behaviour within a specific context.

Terkourafi's frame-based view's premises are face-constituting and rationality. What differentiates Terkourafi's premises from Brown and Levinson's (1987) approach is that theirs are restricted to its individual dimension and do not

acknowledge its societal dimension. These premises are perceived to be accountable for gearing conduct toward the establishment and the re-enactment of norms or habits of polite behaviour. In other words, although Terkourafi (2005: 248) in her frame-based approach retains Brown and Levinson's speech act analysis, she modifies it so that "the participants' own observable responses that guide the classification of any particular utterance as realising a particular type of act, and moreover as a polite realization of that act" rather than the analysts' projecting their own understating into the data. In light of this perspective, politeness is not "a matter of rational calculation, but of habit, and frames (which aim to capture polite "habits") (Terkourafi, 2005a: 250). In case of no pre-established habit, achieving the aim of face-constituting is essential through speakers' suppositions about the sort of intentions the addressee might recognise, and about the face-constituting that they are likely to attribute to certain ways of recognising these intentions. Making these assumptions is restrained by the societal rationality with which they are familiar. The fact that the two aspects of face (i.e. positive and negative) and their relative priority are determined by interlocutors' prior experience indicates that their inferences may be different based on the degree of correspondence of their prior experience. Terkourafi (2005) notes that not all languages have equivalent terms to politeness and impoliteness.

Overall, it could be argued that Terkourafi's frame-based view to politeness seeks to account for observed regularities in the data, and recognises generalised implicatures of politeness besides particularised ones. However, Culpeper (2010: 3232) states that Terkourafi's approach is not fully suitable to account for conventionalised impoliteness formulae arguing that "indirect experience of impoliteness, especially via metadiscourse, does much to shape what counts as impolite and thus what may be conventionalised as impolite. Such impoliteness metadiscourse is driven not only by the salience of impoliteness, but by the social dynamics of impoliteness itself".

2.4.2.4 Spencer-Oatey's rapport management theory

The aforementioned post-modern theorists argue that polite and impolite conduct should not be explained based on assessments and prediction drawn by the analysts, rather it should thoroughly mirror the interlocutors' perceptions and judgment of their own and others' conduct. The same idea has been confirmed by Spencer-Oatey's (2005: 96) terms of rapport and rapport management which were aroused due to critical dissatisfaction with Brown and Levinson's model (i.e. conceptualisation of positive face and negative face) (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). She uses the term rapport management rather than face management "because the term 'face' seems to focus on concerns for self, whereas rapport management suggests more of a balance between self and other" (Spencer-Oatey, 2000: 12).

The term "rapport" describes the smooth and harmonious relations among people and "rapport management" comprises of the conduct which enhances or maintains smooth relationships and any other behaviour which might influence the rapport either being positive, negative, or neutral. Spencer-Oatey's framework consists of three components: the management of face (i.e. face needs), the management of sociality rights (i.e. social expectations) and the management of interactional goals. Spencer-Oatey (2008:13) defines face in line with Goffman's (1967) conceptualisation of face. Arguing that "B&L's conceptualisation of positive face has been underspecified" (Spencer-Oatey, 2000: 13), Spencer-Oatey (2005; 2008) further distinguishes between three types of face to explain people's basic desires for approval: quality face which is related to the individual's desire to be evaluated positively by others based on personal characteristics such as confidence, relational face which is related to the individual's desire to be evaluated in relation to others such as being a kind-hearted teacher, and social identity face which is related to the individual's desire to be evaluated as a group member being a member of family, ethnic groups or religious group. Contending that "the concerns [Brown and Levinson] identify as negative face issues are not necessarily face concerns at all" (Spencer-Oatey, 2000: 13), she rejects the use of negative face as personal desire and proposes instead sociality rights. Sociality

rights are identified by Spencer-Oatey (2000:14) as "fundamental personal/social entitlements that individuals effectively claim for themselves in their interactions with others". They are either equity rights (i.e. the personal consideration from others and being treated fairly and not unduly imposed on or exploited) or association rights (i.e. the social entitlement to have an appropriate association with others and keeping their relationships) (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). Murata (2008) argues that by introducing the conception of sociality rights, Spencer-Oatey's broadens the focus of politeness from individual to social issues, thus establishing a wider social grouping in the notion of face. Spencer-Oatey (2008) notes that people often have particular goals for interacting with others (i.e. relational and transactional (i.e. task-focused) which significantly influence their perceptions of rapport. Culpeper (2011b) indicates though threats to positive rapport between people are related to the three components she identifies, Spencer-Oatey's rapport management is not confined, as in Brown and Levinson's work, to counterbalancing the threat, rather as Spencer-Oatey (2008) suggests, it could be oriented to a desire to strengthen/enhance, or maintain/protect, show a lack of interest in relationship or even impair/challenge harmonious relationship between the interlocutors.

Spencer-Oatey (2002: 534) examines the nature of 'rapport-sensitive' incidents (i.e. "incidents involving social interactions that [respondents] found to be particularly noticeable in some way, in terms of their relationship with the other person(s)". This 'noticeable impact' could be either negative or positive which has been classified according to a range of emotion labels (e.g. happy, proud, annoyed, embarrassed, etc.) and the interactional concerns that seem to underlie people's reactions. The notion of rapport management encompasses (im)politeness in that it encompasses the management of social relations through language use (Spencer-Oatey, 2008: 12). According to Spencer-Oatey (2008), the fundamental contextual variables that impact the use of rapport management strategies are interlocutors' relations, social/interactional roles, activity type and message content. Though the interlocutors' relations are conceptualised in terms of power and distance, similar to Brown and Levinson (1987), they are defined in

more detail in Rapport Management Theory (i.e. different sources of power (e.g. reward, coercive, expert, legitimate and referent power) and different components of distance (e.g. social similarity/difference, frequency of contact, length of acquaintance, familiarity, like-mindedness, and affect) (Spencer-Oatey, 2008: 34–36). The interlocutors' social and interactional roles encompass the perceived rights and obligations whereas message content is associated with the perceived costs or benefits. Spencer-Oatey (ibid) also asserts that the potential for face threats might be exacerbated by the presence of a huge number of addressees or overhearers. Spencer-Oatey (2008: 38) extends the activity types, which are broadly defined as "goal-defined, socially constituted, bounded events with constraints on participants, setting, and so on" (Levinson, 1979: 368) to embrace the more technical view of communicative genre, which includes "historically and culturally specific conventions and ideals according to which speakers compose talk or text and recipients interpret it" (Günthner, 2007: 129). Spencer-Oatey (2008: 39–40) argues that these contextual variables may be considered as both pre-existing and dynamic, expecting that "in the course of an interaction people's initial conceptions interact with the dynamics of the interchange, both influencing and being influenced by the emerging discourse". Spencer-Oatey (2000) indicates that utterances cannot be assessed as inherently polite or rude as determining what is polite and what is not involves a social judgement. She perceives politeness as "a question of appropriateness" (Spencer-Oatey, 2000: 3) which depends on "cultural[42] differences in ways of managing rapport" (Spencer-Oatey, 2000: 41).

Haugh et al. (2011: 4) argue that "Rapport Management Theory includes one of the most comprehensive frameworks of context for politeness researchers developed to date, and indeed in its breadth anticipates much of the current discussion of politeness as situated". However, Culpeper (2011b: 421) claims that spencer-Oatey's rapport management framework is not concerned with the notion of politeness and impoliteness, rather "she is simply proposing a second –order framework of interpersonal relations".

[42] Spencer-Oatey's definition of culture is illustrated in Section 2.6.

2.4.2.5 Culpeper's model of impoliteness

Discursive theorists have begun to incorporate the analysis of impoliteness into their analysis of politeness (Mills, 2011). Eelen (2001: 245) asserts that the problem of politeness theory is that "The inability to adequately account for impoliteness by the same concepts that explain politeness". In light of this, Culpeper (2008), Bousfield and Locher (2008) suggest that impoliteness should not only be analysed in relation to politeness, but also separately in itself. In this respect, Mills (2011: 40) argues that analysing politeness separately is not reasonable because "politeness takes its meaning from the potentiality of impoliteness". Culpeper's (2011a) model of impoliteness is a landmark contribution to the phenomena of impoliteness which has been neglected and poorly understood. It presents a cutting-edge account of how impoliteness works; its forms and functions, and people's understanding of it in both private and public contexts. It is situated in post-modern era of linguistic politeness and impoliteness research being based mainly on discursive models of politeness such as Watts (2003) and Spencer-Oatey's (2000) rapport management framework. Culpeper (2011a: xii) asserts that "impoliteness has an intimate, though not straightforward connection with politeness". It is also of a great interpersonal importance and is involved in harassment, abuse, aggression and bullying. Culpeper (ibid: xiii, 239) presents a significant account of verbal impoliteness as not merely "e.g. A reflex of anger" or "a debased form of language", rather, like all other aspects of language, it is elaborately creative and strategic in achieving interlocutional social goals Defining impoliteness is a challenge because some verbal behaviours which are deemed typically impolite will not always be impolite as it depends on the situation and how the individual perceive it in relation to the situation (Culpeper, 2011a). Culpeper (2011a: 22) argues that impoliteness involves "(a) mental attitude held by participants, and comprised of negative evaluation beliefs about particular behaviours in particular social contexts, (b) and the activation of that attitude by those particular in-context behaviours". The notion of attitude comprises of a favourable and unfavourable reaction to stimuli and has cognitive, affective, and behavioral elements (Bradac

et al, 2001). Culpeper contrasts real actions or attitudes and actions or attitudes that are not genuine using two terms genuine and mock impoliteness. Culpeper (ibid: 208) defines mock impoliteness (e.g. friendly teasing or humorous insults) as "an understanding on the part of a participant that the contextual conditions that sustain genuine impoliteness do not apply" whereby the politeness is perceived to be insincere such expressing thanks ironically. The negative impact of impolite expressions is (at least theoretically for the most part) cancelled by the context" of solidarity between interlocutors (Culpeper, ibid: 208). Culpeper (2011a: 207) argues that "the recontextualisation of impoliteness in socially opposite contexts creates socially opposite effects, namely, affectionate, intimate bonds amongst individuals and the identity of that group". This is an important theoretical move as Culpeper thereby relates mock impoliteness not only to relational work between interlocutors, but also with identity work across that social group (Haugh, and Bousfield, 2012).

Culpeper's (2011a: 103) investigation of corpus-based metapragmatic remarks including the expressions over-polite and too polite reveals that what annoys people most about this speech behaviour is not the actual linguistic expressions employed to convey politeness, but rather "doing politeness too frequently with respect to what is appropriate in the situation". He points out that although overpoliteness is not inevitably viewed as impolite, it may be deliberately employed with a negative impact, for instance, in 'mock-politeness'(e.g. expressing thanks using many expressions in certain situations could be used and perceived as a mockery). Although intentionality is not an essential factor for construing certain speech event as impolite by the interlocutors, it can exacerbate offence as its associated perceptions are context-dependent. A related negative emotional response to an impolite speech event is found to be also relevant because people sometimes get upset by specific speech behaviour even if the speaker does not deliberately intend to offend. This has been realised by Culpeper as quite fuzzy line between genuine impoliteness and mock impoliteness. Moreover, a conflict between speakers' words and hearers' social norm-based anticipations of how speakers should be addressing them is another factor that is

expected to lead to the impoliteness perception of a specific speech behaviour (e.g. thanking a high-status person in a highly stratified society without using an appropriate address term could be viewed impolite.

Impoliteness is expressed through conventional expressions (e.g. personalised insults, threats, and silencers). Culpeper contends that some other verbal expressions (e.g. most swear words) might not be regarded impolite in all contexts. This leads Culpeper (ibid: 124) to affirm that "impoliteness is partly inherent in linguistic expression". However, he argues that speech acts cannot be inherently polite and asserts that the perlocutionary effect of any expression is entirely context-dependent regardless of its form or lexical meaning.

Impoliteness is caused by either conversational implicature or conventionalised expressions. Impolite implicatures are three types. They could be form-driven impoliteness (e.g. innuendo, and mocking mimicry) operating based on lexical and prosodic cues[43] and co-text[44] which indicates that the speaker intends to offend the hearer, normally by flouting one of Grice's Maxims. They could be convention-driven (e.g., sarcasm, teasing). This term designates the mismatch of conventional politeness expressions with a co-text in which a polite construal is unsustainable. They might also be context-driven impoliteness which seems to consist of the noticeable absence of polite behaviour on the part of speakers where it is strongly anticipated by hearers. Culpeper observes that directness of speech is not directly associated with a view of how offensive that speech may be, in contradiction of earlier theorising on the matter.

Culpeper (2011a: 223) outlines certain functional categories of impoliteness; affective impoliteness, coercive impoliteness, entertaining impoliteness and institutional impoliteness. The affective impoliteness involves "the targeted display of heightened emotion, typically anger, with the implication that the target

[43] Culpeper (2011c) highlights the notion of prosody and impoliteness in the since that people may be offended by the way individuals says something rather than what was said.

[44] Co-text is "a distinct category of context defined by the fact that it is constituded by text" (Culpeper, 2011a: 95).

is to blame for producing that negative emotional state". Coercive impoliteness involves Speaker's attempt to increase his or her power over the Hearer by means of socially unacceptable speech patterns. Entertaining impoliteness is achieved when the main goal of the speech event is not the recipient of the rude language, but rather a third-party hearer that perceives the impoliteness event humorous. Institutional impoliteness does not relate to the speaker's desire to affront hearers, rather it is motivated by speaker's act to stimulate interests of the dominant group behind the institution in which the speech event happens (e.g. a drill sergeant spews on army recruits so as to degrade their sense of self and reshape them as compliant soldiers or exploitative television which promote activities to attack some aspect of individuals' face/sociality rights to entertain others).

In sum, this section provides a comprehensive discussion of the existing models of politeness and their principles in the literature of cross-cultural pragmatics and interlanguage pragmatics which offer useful insights for addressing politeness phenomena at different levels. This overview of politeness theories is of help in that it has enabled us to select the most appropriate theory to be taken as the foundation upon which the present study could be based (see Chapter 3, Section 3.4). The dominance of the traditional view of politeness theory has been challenged by Eelen's work (2001) which has stimulated other approaches to politeness that are no longer constrained by modern theoretical demands. There are noticeable gaps in the chief models of politeness and their applications in studying politeness behaviour in various languages and cultures. These gaps warrant exploring different aspects of politeness in a culture such as that of the England or Jordan. This in turn could significantly contribute to enriching the politeness literature and improving ways of developing non-native speakers' communicative competence.

2.5 The communication of gratitude and linguistic and politeness ideology

It should be noted that researchers in the field of cross-cultural studies rely heavily on the concept of language ideology (i.e. linguistic ideology) (Brown, 2008). Language ideology is defined as commonsense notions, implicit assumptions and sets of representations in light of which language imbued with cultural conceptions, language variation and the nature and purpose of communication is used in certain contexts by specific community (i.e. where and how language originated and should properly be used the given context) (Silverstein, 1979; Woolard, 1998; Van Dijk, 2001; Jaworski, and Coupland, 2004). Researchers claim that language ideology has been made increasingly a force influencing the understanding of verbal practices (Heath, 1991, Urban, 1993). Silverstein (1979) notes that language ideology is an attempt to rationalise perceived language use and indicates that speakers' awareness of language and their rationalisations of its structure play a role in shaping and influencing linguistic structures and speech forms. Silverstein illustrates that the ideologies speakers possess concerning language mediate the variation that occurs because of their imperfect and inadequate awareness of linguistic structures, leading to the regularisation of any variation that is rationalised by any necessarily dominant or culturally widespread ideologies. Jaworski, and Coupland (2004) and Woolard, 1998) perceive language ideology as evaluative and prescriptive socio-cultural assumptions tied to power[45] and shared among members of a specific speech community serving as a frame of reference of what is considered correct, permissible, moral, normal or appropriate language use and link these with individuals who are thought to be bad, good, moral, etc. However, though

45 Hill (2008:1981) argues that ideologies "are not in themselves racist" and introduces different types of ideologies that support covert racism: ideology of personalism (i.e. the meaning comes from the speaker's beliefs and intnetions), performative ideology (i.e. words are not understood as true or false, but as assaultive), referentialist ideology (i.e. meaning comes from reference, words should match the world and be true), and social alexithymia (i.e. inattention to the feelings of people [who are the target of systematic discrimination).

linguistic behaviours might be influenced by ideology, Silverstein (1979) indicates that linguistic ideology should not be considered to equate necessarily and directly with the distribution of uses perceived in actual linguistic data and the way people actually work out appropriateness at the interactional level. This could further imply that individuals within the same culture vary in adherence to linguistic ideology. Kroskrity (2004) also accentuates the heterogeneity rather than the homogeneity of language ideologies since they are context-bound and grounded in social experience which varies from an individual to another. The heterogeneity in language ideologies denotes the potentiality of contradiction with the same speech community (Lønsmann, 2011).

Brown (2008) points out that politeness ideology" fits within a larger framework of language or linguistic ideology. Politeness researchers point out the close links between the interlocutors' strategies with the social rules that are observed in their society (Fraser and Nolen, 1981; Gu, 1990; Watts et al., 2005; Chen, 1993). This could indicate that the members of communities need to follow certain rules in order to maintain their membership in the group. Meier (1995:387) notes that politeness is "doing what is socially acceptable" and Ehlich (1992:76) remarks that "in order to be able to qualify politeness as such, we need to know what constitutes the standard, the constitutive process being social". Such statements indicate that politeness is based on a social ideology, i.e. on a set of ideas about behaviour which are shared by a community and, hence, are recognised as appropriate in the community. Culpeper (2011a: 15) also claims that "expectations can partly account for people's sense of appropriacy, something which feeds into politeness". Social groups who share similar politeness attitudes (i.e. politeness ideology) are known as politeness cultures Culpeper, 2011c). Blum-Kulka's (1992: 275) cultural scripts (i.e. notions the speakers rely on in making distinctive evaluation) are usually tactic and evaluations of (im)polite verbal behaviour as they represent beliefs, feelings and cultural expectations for what constitutes appropriate social behaviour and the degree to which any linguistic expression is considered polite by interlocutors of a certain culture in a specific situation. Therefore, Brown (2008) asserts that politeness is embedded in

community's cultural practices, and this type of ideology is significant and indispensable in any account for what constitutes "correct", "appropriate" and "polite" linguistic behaviour. Therefore, it could be argued that speakers' salient ways of communication in general and expressing gratitude in particular is linked to their pragmatic knowledge and to some extent to the social identity and pre-existing ideologies concerning politeness.

Eelen (1999) distinguishes three types of ideology of politeness: the commonsense ideology, scientific ideology, and social ideology. The commonsense ideology (i.e. culture-specific: Eastern vs. Western) refers to "the set of stipulations or norms which determine what is 'polite' and what is 'impolite' in everyday ordinary interaction" (Eelen, 1999: 163). It pertains to ordinary speakers' interpretations and evaluations of social behaviours and the rules and mechanisms that apprise such evaluations. Within commonsense ideology of politeness, Eelen (ibid: 163) goes on to further distinguish between "what ordinary speakers actually do (the actual evaluations they make) and what they say they do (their metapragmatic beliefs and discourse about politeness)". Okamoto (1997) indicates that the subcategories of the common sense ideology are not always or essentially identical as common sense ideology appeared to not sufficiently capture actual everyday practices, which are often more complex than the ideologies would lead to believe. Thus, Eelen argues that such ideologies, in the form of canonical rules of politeness, would be liable to present a simple version of reality, in that they highlight certain cultural ordinary values (e.g. direct socio-structural indexicality of politeness in the case of Japanese). The scientific ideology of politeness refers to "the different ways in which science has tried to make sense of –or capture or explain- politeness phenomena. This ideology thus involves scientific concepts and theoretical constructs, and describes how scientists see politeness" (Eelen, 1999: 164). Eelen (ibid: 164) social ideology refers to "beliefs having to do with certain aspects of social organisation or social structure (e.g. the power relations that prevail in a society), and their associated values. This ideology consists of elements that make up what could be called a 'social worldview' (e.g. notions of right and wrong, of good and bad, of social

worth, and so on)". Eelen (ibid: 164) argues that though social ideologies (e.g. 'individualistic' Western social ideologies vis-à-vis Eastern 'collectivistic' ideologies) are not ideologies of politeness, both types are closely related, in the sense that "social worldviews are often used as explanatory factors in scientific accounts of politeness". However, Eelen (1999: 165) points out that communication in general and politeness in particular would be conceptualised differently within different communities and across different times. This is mainly because common sense ideologies of politeness are connected with social ideologies; that is any change in the social structures or notions (e.g. social equality) correspondingly change the meaning and function of specific politeness formulae (e.g. those related to the power-structure of society) (Held, 2010; Watts et al., 2005). Though Eelen makes this distinction, he claims that all of them are actually closely interrelated in the sense that "spontaneous concepts" of politeness and "politeness in action" feed directly into each other and it may not always be beneficial to separate them (Eelen, 2001: 32). Brown (2008:66) contends that "Eelen fails to recognise that lay interpretations of politeness are not always "spontaneous" because they are formed not only in direct relation to "politeness in action" but also against a background of ideological discourse regarding politeness".

Mills and Kádár (2011) caution against referring to politeness norms within or across cultures, because statements about linguistic cultural norms are often appear to be conservative, profoundly ideological and based on stereotypes. They give an example of judging of Arabs as too direct when they are speaking English to show that ideological judgement of politeness and impoliteness norms might signal negative feelings towards particular nations. Mills and Kádár argue that researchers need to focus their attention less on what they think are the norms of a culture as these will certainly be hypothesised stereotypes. They claim that "…preconceptions and ideological beliefs about the linguistic behaviour of certain groups can be described objectively and perhaps can form part of our analysis of politeness stereotypes" (ibid: 44). Thus, they propose that employing the discursive approach in examining politeness is useful in moving the politeness

field forward. They claim that it is difficult to ascribe particular politeness or impoliteness behaviours (and evaluations) to the individual's cultural background since such behaviours and evaluations may vary across different contexts. They do not only uphold the use of the Community of Practice [46]paradigm, and a need to explore tendencies or "dominant politeness norms" instead of "absolute norms", but also call for distinguishing cultural norms of appropriateness or politeness norms both at the "individual" and "social levels". However, Merrison, et al., (2012) argue that even when comparing politeness practices in roughly equivalent Communities of Practice (e.g. e-mail request from students in universities in Britain and Australia), there seem to be at least some underlying norms that impact e-mail practices which echo broader societal norms.

Eelen (2001) states that politeness ideologies have rarely been distinguished from the way that politeness works in actual raw data. However, the need to differentiate between linguistic ideology and actual linguistic use within politeness research has proven challenging (Brown, 2008). Okamoto (1997) claims that though scientific ideologies have commonly used conceptualisations and terminologies that differ vastly from those of common sense ideologies, his work shows that this difference may be only a veil, because scientific views are often implicitly based on commonsense canonical rules and values. Kienpointner (1999: 2) emphasises that politeness ideologies do not only colour the "stereotypes of lay people about (im)polite behavior", but also the "assumptions underlying current politeness theories". Klotz (1999) argues that the social and scientific ideologies are connected in the sense that scientific conceptualisations

[46] A community of practice is "A community of practice consists of a loosely defined group of people who are mutually engaged on a particular task and who have a shared repertoire of negotiable resources accumulated over time" (Wenger, 1998: 76, in Mills, 2003: 30). It is "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavour. Ways of doing, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of their joint activity around that endeavour." (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1998:490). Mills (2003: 4) maintains that communities of practices are "in a constant process of change, determined by the actions and assessments of individual members in relation to the group" and an individual "engages with others and is defined and changed by that engagement and contributes to the changes taking place within the community of practice" (Mills, ibid: 30).

of politeness and communication in general can be linked to social organisational features. Grainger (2011) claims that 'second-order conceptualisation of politeness cannot and should not be neglected; rather, it should be considered along with first-order view politeness. Haugh's (2011: 252) work represents "an approach to politeness research that does not dismiss outright such ideologies as unscientific but rather respects them as part of the overall cultural milieu in which politeness as a social practice emerges". Haugh (2011) also argues that focusing only on peoples' conception and judgment in analysing politeness may neglect significant politeness practices that are oriented to by participants, but not necessarily ever explained in their ideologies of politeness.

The communication of gratitude like many other communicative acts could greatly be influenced by ideologies pertaining to what it meant to 'be polite' or 'impolite' in light of the contextual and social aspects and on their linguistic ideology or beliefs and attitudes regarding language use and - more broadly - the differences between Arabic and English modes of politeness and social behaviour in conveying gratitude. For example, the use 'thank you' is a polite convention used in all English contexts, but it is not expected in Jordanian context such as the service situations. Swearing which is clearly connected to the notion of incivility in the English culture is used to preface communicative acts in the Jordanian contexts to emphasise sincerity and politeness. Viewing politeness as face work shows that it is pertinent to identify the social standard of certain society in order to define the face wants of its members. This in turn allows us to analyse what strategies can be perceived as polite or impolite in this society and the motives behind using politeness strategies in particular situations. Terms of address which are used to express gratitude can be regarded a strategy that is based on the speakers' consideration of several contextual and social aspects and on their linguistic ideology, or beliefs and attitudes regarding language use (Okamoto, 1997). However, whereas the English regard using the family name as a polite form of address even in formal contexts, Jordanian people consider using titles the most important linguistic behaviour in most contexts and mainly in formal contexts where merely use of names could be considered impolite. Thus,

politeness views, which invariably emerge in these two analyses of terms of address usage, seem to be the prototypical ideological constructs influencing our usage and interpretation of them as an expression of gratitude in particular social contexts. All aspects of politeness can be properly understood and investigated in the context of culture. The notion of culture which is related to the notion of ideology is discussed in the following section.

2.6 Culture - definition, model, universality and specificity

A critical interpretation of the construct of 'culture' is essential because numerous 'ideologies' of politeness are often perceived to emanate from particular cultural settings (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003). Having different beliefs and expectations about what can be a polite linguistic behaviour can be viewed as a specific type of mental meta-representations "one that relates a state or an event to another state or event on the basis of a causal relationship previously attested - the more an expectation is confirmed, the stronger it will become", thus they are "a part of the individual's knowledge… since they are built and reinforced as a result of previous experience" (Escandell Vidal, 1998:43-44). The link between both states can be viewed conventional such as the case of doing certain type of favour to somebody and expecting to receive certain gratitude expressions. Sperber's (1996) model of culture as epidemiology of representations offers a suitable framework for analysing the data in the present study and elucidating the relationship between individual and social expectations in communication.

> Consider a social group (…). Each member of the group has, in his or her head, millions of mental representations, some short-lived, others stored in long-term memory and constituting the individual's 'knowledge'. Of these mental representations, some- a very small proportion-get communicated repeated, and end up being distributed throughout the group, and thus have a mental version in most of its members. When we speak of cultural representations, we have in mind- or should have in mind-such widely distributed, lasting representations. Sperber's (1996:25)

This indicates that expectations regarding social behaviour are based on socially accepted interpretations (i.e. widely distributed representations) of facts (Escandell Vidal, 1998). Thus, Sperber (1996) views them as higher level (i.e. the general knowledge representations/ expectations) about how lower representations (words and their combinations and other communicative behaviours) that are distributed across a population and used by its members in relation to specific situations under particular conditions. In other words, there are social expectations of the use of specific linguistic expressions that will be considered appropriate in particular contexts. In light of this argument, cultural variations can be viewed as a consequence of the distributions of different representations about the appropriate use of certain linguistic behaviours under particular conditions. Such cultural representations are elucidated in terms of communication between people themselves and other sorts of interaction between people and their milieu (Žegarac, 2008).

To better understand the model of culture followed in the present study, culture needs to be explicitly defined with reference to theoretical work, though culture is perceived to be a very difficult notion to define (Scollon and Scollon; 1995; Eelen, 2001; Culpeper, 2011a). Culture has been defined differently by several researchers. Following Sperber (1996), Žegarac (2008:50) observes that culture can be characterised as a system of representations of a particular type, which he calls 'cultural representations'. A cultural representation is a metarepresentation (i.e. representation of a representation). It is a belief about another mental representation…which has become wide-spread across a human population on over a significant time-span. On this view, the members of a culture do not necessarily share exactly the same set of cultural representation and the particular representations they hold are not identical, but are very similar so that the members of the culture can rely on them in social interaction. In this view, cultures naturally have fuzzy boundaries, and are, in this sense like regions. To give but one example, the phrase 'south Midlands' in the utterance 'Luton is a town in the south Midlands, refers to an area which is identifiable for all practical intents and purposes, although any attempt to draw sharp lines which divide it

from the neighbouring regions are ill-advised. By the same token, the phrase 'Jordanian culture' or 'English culture' have inherently fuzzy boundaries, but this does not mean that they are not useful concepts. Rather, it means that they are useful to the extent that there are human populations which share an appreciable number of sufficiently similar cultural representations for it to be appropriate to describe them as members of the 'Jordanian culture' or 'English culture'. Whether and to what extent we are justified in using these terms depends on the validity of the generalisations about socio-cultural groups that we are investigating. Žegarac (2008:51) illustrates how the epidemiological model explains why culture includes a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs etc. and examines critically how cultural representations influencing each member of the social group as follows:

An epidemic involves a population with many individuals being afflicted to varying degrees by a particular strain of micro-organisms over a continuous time span on a territory with fuzzy and unstable boundaries…The analogy between cultures and epidemics also provides an intuitive account for the observation that all members of a culture do not share all, and exactly the same, cultural representations. Just as an epidemic does not affect all individuals in an area to the same extent (typically, some people are more seriously afflicted by the disease than others), we should not expect all members of a culture to share all cultural representations. The 'epidemiological' perspective on culture suggests that it is cultural regularity, rather than cultural diversity, that should be surprising. Cultural variation occurs within the range of possibilities allowed by human cognition.

Žegarac's illustration indicates that a culture cannot exist without some cultural representations being shared in the individuals' minds over a certain period of time to different degrees. Therefore, studying culture cannot be based on studying individual psychology. Similar to the way infections spread in individuals' bodies through interaction between strains of micro-organisms with the same environment they live in, cultural representations spread in people's minds through communicative and other types of, interaction between people and their

shared environment (Žegarac, 2008). Given the fact that human populations live in different environments, the culture of a particular group can be viewed as an intricate web of cultural representations pertaining to some themes or regularities than to others (i.e. values, beliefs, principles and orientations to life, perceptions of role relationships comprising rights and obligations related to them, conventions, behavioural rituals and routines, which may involve using language, various norms and conventions of communication, etc.) (Spencer-Oatey, 2005).

This epidemiological perspective on culture is consistent with Matsumoto's (1996:16) contention that culture is both an individual and a social construct and views it as '... the set of attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors shared by a group of people, but different for each individual, communicated from one generation to the next'. In the same vein, Avruch (1998: 5) points out that "culture consists of the derivatives of experience, more or less organised, learned or created by the individuals of a population, including those images or encodements and their interpretations (meanings) transmitted from past generations, from contemporaries, or formed by individuals themselves". Similarly, Spencer-Oatey (2008: 3) defines culture as a "fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioural conventions, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member's behaviour and each member's interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour". These conceptualisations of culture mesh well with the epidemiological model of culture as they imply that culture is embedded in a more general epidemiology of individual and social representations and practices. Thus, culture should not be equated to nations because nations are made up of many cultures such as different language groups, ages, genders, geographical communities, and academic disciplines, etc. whose members share and presume that they largely share comparable cultural representations held by most of them (Culpeper, 2011a; Žegarac, 2008). Living in fairly comparable environments and social structures could result in major similarities in the way cultures are formed, but there are still individual differences within the same culture (Spencer-Oatey, 2012).

Hofstede's (1994:5) definition of culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the member of one group or category of people from another" suggests that culture could be situated between human nature, which is not programmed, nor programmable and the individual's personality (Dahl, 2004). Hofstede argues that this notion of the culture in the individual is specifically valuable for elucidating culture and allowing for the diversity of individual personalities within each culture (Dahl, 2004). Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2009: 29) argue that "When social psychologists refer to cultural norms, they are not in fact implying uniformity. On the contrary, they regard them as kinds of behavioural/attitudinal 'means', which by definition entail distributional variability".

The aforementioned definitions of culture imply that culture is a combination of variables underlying human behaviour. According to Hofstede (2001: 10), values are the invisible part of culture manifested through cultural practices, consisting of symbols, heroes, and rituals. Values are "broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others" (Hofstede, 1991: 8) and "collective expectations of what constitutes proper or improper behaviour (Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2005: 32). Hofstede envisages the relationship between culture, values, and practices as the 'Onion Diagram' (2001: 11) claiming that cultural values drive practices. Hofstede (1991:8) argues that although specific aspects of culture are physically visible, their meaning is invisible: "their cultural meaning ... lies precisely and only in the way these practices are interpreted by the insiders". Spencer-Oatey (2012) provides an example of the 'ring gesture' (thumb and forefinger touching) which may be construed as conveying agreement or acceptance in the USA, the UK and Canada and an insult or obscene in several Mediterranean countries. The main difference between Hofstede's approach to culture and Sperber's (1996) epidemiological mode is that central to the former is the notion of 'value' and central to the latter is the notion of '(cultural) representation'. The two models have not been compared so far, but it could be argued that they have different implications for explanation and research. Crucially, the concept of value seems rather general and it could be argued that it provides the basis for ex post facto

explanations. For example, explanations of the type 'person X behaves in way Y, because person X comes from a collectivist culture' seems to rest on the assumption that 'collectivism' (and 'individualism') are essential features which guide and inform behaviour. There is very little evidence to support this view. In fact, it is the behavioural patterns of individuals that provide the basis for generalisations about the type of culture they belong to, but such descriptive generalisations should not be used to explain the very behaviours that they are based on.

It seems more promising to investigate descriptively how people behave and how they represent their behaviours, say those relating to politeness, among themselves within populations, and try to establish how their shared representations are manifested in their behaviour. This is consistent with Eelen's approach to politeness. This author regards culture as a fundamental issue in the field of politeness claiming that politeness varies across cultures based on cultural expectations arising from cultural norms which are reflected in speech acts and differ from one language, regional and social variety to another. These social norms, which are shared by all individuals and pertain to situations and cultures, are the driving force behind the system of politeness (Eelen, 2001). However, Eelen (2001:166) claims that "Although culture may be useful as an abstract descriptive notion, as an a posteriori derivative of the observation of behaviour across a whole group, it is not per se also able to function as a concrete explanatory notion, as an a priori casual factor for individual behaviour". He opposes the use of culture in traditional theories of politeness as an explanatory notion through notions such as scripts, cultural norms, and rules mainly because this can only explain polite (i.e. 'truly cultural') behaviour. This has led to relegating impoliteness to a phenomenon outside culture and view cultures as internally homogeneous[47]. Considering norms and rules to be explanatory factors for human behaviour indicates that they are ingrained in peoples' mind upon which they rely to determine the way they act themselves and make sense of other

[47] Eelen (2001) provides more examples clarifying his viewpoint of culture.

people's behaviour, thus they form the basis of social communication (Eelen, 2001). This also indicates that based on the social norms that stipulate what is appropriate for a particular interactional situation, "communicative success depends on the right amount and kind of politeness applied at the right time to the right speech act, as determined by" (Eelen, 2001:128). This implies that everyday evaluations of politeness in traditional theories are justified and reinforced implicitly or explicitly prior through references to socially shared norms.

Consequently, Eelen (2001:170) argues that "the theoretical construction of cultural norms must be abandoned" because this view of culture is problematic as individuals are unconsciously perceived as "cultural dopes" that employ specific politeness forms or strategies basically, for example, because they are Chinese or Japanese (Eelen, 2001; Haugh, 2011). Culpeper (2011a:12) contends that conceptualisation of culture as "a relatively shortlist of stable features passed on from generation to generation" is erroneous. This is mainly because cultures are various and continually changing, people shift in and out of particular cultures (cf. Kachru, 1999; Gudyunst and Kim, 2003) and discourse shapes culture and is also shaped by it (cf. Gee, 2008). Haugh (2011) maintains that the variability in evaluations of (im)politeness found in empirical studies challenges the supposition that the cultural norms of politeness are homogeneous or even mostly shared among members of particular communities. Nonetheless, very few studies have acknowledged that culture itself changes over time through interaction and if being influenced by another culture (Kim and Gudykunst, 2005; Erez and Gati, 2004). Although cultures share some broad features (i.e. representations), they are dynamic because they constitute a "large-scale outcome of people interacting over time" (Eelen, 2001: 246–247), and the individual is "a unique variant of this shared culture" (Parsons 1966:7). Cultures are not homogeneous because there are different views on what constitutes polite and impolite behaviour within each culture, and no culture will unequivocally hold to certain norms for what constitutes polite or impolite behaviour (Mills and Kádár, 2011). The extent to which the target culture could change depends on the extent to which people are attracted to the other culture and on how deeply they endeavour to maintain their

own cultural identity (Berry, 1980). In particular, Locher (2006b) argues that politeness is an elusive concept being inherently related to judgements on norms and those are continually negotiated and eventually change over time in every type of social interaction.

Consequently, Culpeper (2011a:12) claims that "research on impoliteness needs some way of capturing the fact that different groups of people- different 'cultures' have different norms and different values". Norms and values lie at the heart of all social behaviour and in this scope of the present research as Mills, (2009) and Culpeper, (2011a) point out they are central to (im)politeness. Haugh (2003) distinguishes between two types of norms: norms about what one should do, and norms about what one is likely to do or what Terkourafi (2005) terms prescriptive/theoretical versus descriptive/empirical norms. That is, while the rules of traditional theories (e.g. Lakoff and Leech) reiterate conceptualisations of what one should do[48], Eelen (2001: 236-237) suggests that norms and culture should be studied as discursive phenomena, that is, as "social practices" that have their own specific "social effects, purposes and motivations", and vary in their associated perceptions, thus they should be perceived as essential components of politeness, not to be explicated by the analyst.

This argument highlights the importance of distinguishing between a bottom-up and top-down approach to the model of culture and in particular (im)politeness. A bottom-up approach to the model of culture suggests that "self to others influences and structures interactions. The interactions themselves produce, in a social constructionist sense, the social actions, practices and understandings through

[48] Lakoff (1979:69) claims that "a culture has implicitly in its collective mind a concept of how a good human being should behave: target for its members to aim at and judge themselves", and that " [m]ost of us, in most situations, are too well-bred to violate these rules: we know what trouble we'd get into if we did" Lakoff (1977:89). Ide (1982:377) argues "people with a good upbringing observe the rules more strictly".

which social phenomena such as institutions and ideologies are created" (McKinlay, and McVittie, 2008:270). Therefore "Societal phenomena such as ideologies only exist in so far as there are interactions among people through which those ideologies are manifested…[and] individual phenomena such as a sense of self arise out of the interactions that an individual has with others…" (McKinlay, and McVittie, 2008:269). On the other hand, the top-down approach suggests that "ideological and cultural issues from the societal level constrain the ways in which identities are developed and maintained at the interactional level, and these interactional outcomes in turn constrain the ways in which one understands oneself in terms of individual level" (McKinlay and McVittie, 2008: 270).

Eelen's distinction between politeness1 and politeness2 is "most frequently used to codify a shift in methodology (from 'top-down' theoretical models to 'bottom up' empirical investigations" of lay people conceptualisations of social norms (Clark, 2011:109). Bousfield and Culpeper (2008) point out the traditional approaches are top-down constructs as they advocate a priori intentions which the hearer should just re-discover whereas the discursive approaches (Watts 2003, Mills, 2003; Linguistic Politeness Research Group, 2011) are bottom-up models because they are more inclined to treat intentions as post-facto phenomena. Eelen (2001) illustrates that the scientific concepts of the traditional theories are exact, abstract, pre-defined and detached from everyday life and used for explanation of the empirical content. In other words, the discursive approaches focus on what is considered polite, impolite, or destabilises harmonious communication from the perspectives of the interactants themselves. In particular, they concentrate on spontaneous concepts belonging to everyday reality and experience, therefore "their initial acquisitional form is empirical" Eelen (2001:33). In this sense, these approaches, following the bottom-up approach, mark a shift from a generic theoretical model of (im)politeness accounting for an 'ideal' participant and emphasise instead the importance of investigating laypersons' practice (experience) and understanding of what is (im)polite and the contextual and intentional aspects to generalising conceptualisation (Bousfield and Locher, 2008;

Culpeper, 2011a). Hence, it could be argued that they are known and recognised in action before they are perceived consciously and conceptually based on completely assimilated empirical content (Eelen, 2001). Watts (2003:117) argues that the discursive conception of politeness is incompatible with a simple conception of social norms as "'rules'…decided upon by others rather than by ourselves, and that we are socially constrained to abide by". Assuming the normative changing evaluations of polite behaviour made by lay people in interaction, culture in the discursive approach is mainly addressed through an examination of variability in interactants' evaluations of politeness across different Communities of Practice and other groups within a specific society (Haugh, 2007a). Due to the fact that interactants do not always clearly reveal or discuss evaluations of (im)politeness in interaction, theorists have also examined the implicit and post-hoc evaluations of (im)politeness made by interlocutors (Watts, 2003; Locher, 2004, 2006b; Locher and Watts, 2005; Culpeper, 2008; 2011a). This indicates that the bottom-up discursive approach in analysing culture makes the "participants become the analysts of their own interactions", thus make the analysts only represent the participants' interpretations of the interaction (Haugh, 2007b: 303). Bottom-up processes characterise phenomena that have established at a lower level originated in the characteristics of individuals such as cognition, behaviour and personal characteristics, but they emerge later as higher-level collective phenomenon through interactions with others (Klein and Kozlowski, 2000). For instance, what constitutes team cognition, behaviour and personal characteristics is originated in the individual elements that compose the team which emerge into a group property through interactions among the same team members (Erez, and Gati, 2004). Individuals in the same team (e.g. individuals who are linked by the workflow) tend to interact with each other more than with others outside their team (e.g. individuals who are only linked indirectly) (Brass, 1995). The characteristics of a particular structural unit (i.e. team) arise over time as a result of dynamic interactions. Haugh (2011) states that one of the main aims of discursive psychology is to analyse "discourse in which mental states become relevant, as a form of social action which is oriented to interactional and inferential concerns" (Wooffitt, 2005: 89), with mental states

comprising beliefs, knowledge, memories, attitudes, and motives. Perceiving politeness debatably at its core an "interpersonal attitude" (Culpeper, 2011b; Haugh, 2007a: 91), Haugh (2011) argues that analysing discourse in which politeness is viewed as an attitude becomes related to the participants, hence it is evidently discursive in nature.

On the contrary, the top-down processes shape culture by conveying the influence of higher-level contextual factors (e.g. cultural diffusion) through globalisation, media, shared norms, and then develop into shared values and basic assumptions, etc. on phenomena at lower levels of the system (i.e. practices of the members of the same culture) (Klein and Kozlowski, 2000). In other words, the reality of the members of the culture is not determined by its individual elements but, rather, by the composition of these aforementioned contextual factors. This in turn establishes a new reality at the societal level. Schein (1992) notes that top-down processes may first influence the behaviours and practices of the member of the culture. If social institutions are defined as regulative representations (norms) about how other representation (e.g. words, types of utterances, topics of conversation, etc. are distributed (i.e. displayed or performed) in various types of social situations, then it could be argued that they actually can work top down, i.e. people may behave the way they do because they have learnt or internalised the norms, not just because they take part in the patterns of behaving which they see shared by others. They stipulate norms of behaviour the interlocutors are expected to uphold in the sense that they outline what "types of speech acts can be seen as appropriate" in certain situations (Fraser and Nolen, 1981: 94). Consequently, people develop mental representations that regulate the cultural behaviours relating to (im) politeness or the norms are there from the beginning, so by sharing in the behaviours people actually also accept/learn the norms. Eelen (2001) argues that "politeness is subject to cultural expectations arising from cultural norms, and cultural scripts provide speakers with the means to meet these expectations. The scripts thus become the operational (linguistic-technical) counterpart of the norms: they represent the way norms manifest themselves in actual behaviour". For example, the rules of Ide's notion of discernment reflect

the speaker's choice of expressions to conform to the prescribed norms which are out there in the society (prescription). Viewing politeness as being determined by a set of socially shared norms independent of interlocutors means that any speaker behaviour is construed similarly by any hearer within the limit of variable competence. This, from Eelen's perspective, leads to view social reality as "not only a reality sui generis, independent of the individual level (Parsons 1971:7), but also takes precedence over the individual – because the latter occupies a lower position" (Eelen,2001:189).

Eelen (2001) claims that the objective approach to social structure is attributed to the Parsonian[49]'s top down rather than bottom up view of society and culture. In other words, society is conceptualised as involving a hierarchical structure of 'behavioural control' which Parsons calls a 'cybernetic hierarchy' (Parsons 1966: 9, 44, cited in Eelen 2001: 189). In this structure, the cultural system (values, beliefs, myths, etc.) is at the top of the hierarchy and controls the social system which in turn controls the personality systems in the individual and behavioural systems in social groups. It is in this sense that the social values which are internalised during socialisation are a priori regulative factors determining people's behaviour. Eelen (2001) and Watts (2003) critique the Parosonian perspective, which is viewed as comparable to the traditional approach to politeness, for perceiving persons as powerless playing only a strictly limited role in constructing social reality. Watts (2003:147-148) explains that "Parsonian view of society consists of 'regularised' constraints on 'normal' or 'acceptable' social behaviour and sets of institutions" and "these determine the structuring of social groups and the roles which individuals are 'expected' to play in those groups". Due to the fact that society determines individuals' behaviour, context and culture could be viewed as predetermined and static and the individuals cannot determine or even influence the rules of the social system, or the conceptualisation of (im)politeness (Eelen, 2001).

49 Parsons (e1966, 1967) is an influential American sociologist whose ideas on the nature of society have spread to other fields of scientific thinking.

In light of the fact that cultures share some broad features (i.e. representations) which are dynamically constituted as the outcome of people's interaction over time, I followed an interactional bottom-up model rather than a top-down constraint model of culture in analysing the data. Analysing the data was based on the evaluations made by the participants of their interaction instead of social constraints on their freedom of action because their judgements on what counts polite or impolite are constantly negotiated. Therefore, they ultimately change over time across social interaction situations. The participants were asked about their evaluations and perception of what is polite and impolite regarding the communication of gratitude and the contextual and social variables that might influence their judgement and perception and in what ways. The data description and analysis do not depend on a theoretical model which includes an explanatory account of culture and the notions of sharedness or normativity. Thus, it supports Locher and Watts' (2005: 16) argument that

> We consider it important to take native speaker assessments of politeness seriously and to make them the basis of a discursive, data-driven, bottom-up approach to politeness. The discursive dispute over such terms in instances of social practice should represent the locus of attention for politeness research.

Drawing on Bourdieu's (1991) notion of habitus, Eelen (2001) claims that a common world should be hypothesised as consisting of a set of beliefs and practices that people accept, share and envisage as their culture, and with which researchers need to engage as individuals. Habitus is a social mechanism that consists of "the set of dispositions to behave in a manner which is appropriate to the social structures objectified by an individual through her/his experience of social interaction" (Watts, 2003: 274) and "caters for regulated behaviour without the need for positing some external regulating force" (Eelen, 2001: 222). Bourdieu (1991: 12) describes habitus as "the disposition [which] generates practices, perceptions and attitudes which are 'regular' without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule'. Thus, politeness can be based on

interlocutors' habitus (Eelen, 2001). Eelen strongly rejects prescriptivism, indicating that "the emphasis on variability and individual creativity even implies that prediction will no longer be possible" (2001: 247). However, Eelen acknowledges that there is a consensus in politeness which is illustrated by using the concept of habitus. In other words, people acquire habitus through their experience of social interactions: their previous interaction or their history in Bourdieu's (1991) term and their present interaction which also influences and establishes their habitus (Murata, 2008). Eelen (ibid) although a person's habitus shares a common part with those of other people, it is unique to each individual. Thus, it could be stated that the notable characteristics of Eelen's notion of habitus are variability and individual creativity (Murata, 2008). Though integrating the notion of habitus with the model of communities of practice, Mills (2003) argues that what influences the assessment of appropriateness, which is very related to politeness, is not only the individuals' habitus but also from the communities of practice where they are involved. Nevertheless appropriateness is not imposed on people rather it has to be determined by them "assessing their own status in relation to other participants in the community of practice" (Mills, 2003: 71).

Consequently, the norms can be viewed as the unwritten rules for peoples' behaviour developed through repetition of performing things in certain ways (Watts, 2003; Terkourafi, 2005). However, Mills (2011) argues that interlocutors perceive these shared attitudes or practices as establishing a norm and negotiated with in terms of their perception of what is considered acceptable for their own behaviour. Mills (2011:31) argues that habitus is "flexible system of behaviours…a way of moving away from materialist analysis with its stress on the importance of external factors to the individual in self-construction, towards a more individualistic framework of analysis". However, Eelen contends that politeness is most effectively analysed not as 'a system', but as a social practice which is both dynamic and interactive considering variability as a positive element that builds into human communication a capability for social and cultural negotiation and change rather than as an inconvenience. Watts (2003: 148) claims that researchers in the discursive approach take a more dynamic approach to

politeness and place politeness within a theory of social practice, where social should not be understood on the level of society/culture, rather it should be taken as "a reference to what goes on between human beings, between individuals, in the construction or social reality" (Eelen, 2001: 246) and "practice is observable in instances of ongoing social interaction amongst individuals, which most often involves language" (Watts 2003: 148), and they take a more dynamic approach to politeness then the previous studies. Based on this, Eelen indicates that "notions of politeness are not simply the result of a passive learning process in which each individual internalises 'the' societal/cultural politeness system, but are rather an active expression of that person's social positioning in relation to others and the social world in general" (Eelen, 2001: 224). Consequently, Eelen (2001) argues that notions such as sharedness, norms, competence, culture and politeness can also be considered as representations of reality rather than as factual references to an objective reality.

The traditional politeness theories merely incorporate "a pre-constructed object, ignoring its *social laws of construction* and masking its social genesis" (Bourdieu 1991:44, original emphasis) and stress that "an 'a priori' notion of culture where the social level is causally prior to the individual. This in turn leads to the unidirectional determination of the individual by the social level and the disappearance of the former from the cybernetic picture" (Eelen 2001: 246). In contrast with the focus of the traditional theorists, Eelen (2001) suggests based on Bourdieu´s notion of a dynamic bi-directional view of the social-individual through concentrating on the processes of social production instead on the product of these processes. This bi-directional view of the social-individual which helps to describe how past experience mediated present action, creating a new experience that intersects both the meaning and effect of past experiences and future action. This indicates that Bourdieu's notion of habitus is followed as a guide for developing a theoretical framework in which the social-cultural norms are the consequence of human interaction rather than the opposite (Hamza, 2007b). Therefore, Haugh (2011: 261) argues that "it is through examining the orientations of participants to particular normative positionings, which are implicit

in their evaluations of politeness and impoliteness, that we can better understand the role that norms play at the individual level". Eelen (2001) concludes:

> The combination of discursive psychological thinking with Bourdieuan sociology provides an example of how the social and the individual, the macro and micro, may be integrated into one coherent view of human reality as a spatio-temporally and intersubjectively dynamic process. As such, not only our view of politeness may be enhanced, but the study of politeness may also contribute to a deeper understanding of social reality in general, because it would lead to the examination of fundamental notions such as social norms or the nature of culture and society, and more generally to a contemplation of the processes involved in the day-to-day constitution of the social world by individual human beings, i.e. the processes of everyday life.

The issue of universality versus culture-specificity has received heated debate. Despite some claim for semantic universals Searle (1976) and Coulmas (1981), cross-linguistic differences in the realisation patterns in different speech act behaviours have also been identified. Following Blum-Kulka, et al. (1989)'s Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project, several cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics investigations have been conducted (Chen, 1993). The cross-cultural aspects of speech act behaviours have become one of the major foci in studies of language use such as (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984, Chen, 1993; Cheng, 2005; Farnia and Suleiman, 2009; House and Kasper, 1981; Kasper, 1990; Manes, 1983; Manes and Wolfson, 1981; Matsumoto, 1988, Nelson et al. 1996). Researchers have pointed out that speech acts are cross-culturally different in their form, frequency of occurrence, speech act procedure, linguistic realisation, function, potential pragmatic force distribution and social appropriateness rules (Blum-Kulka, 1989; Schmidt and Richards, 1980 and Wolfson, 1986). Fraser (1990), Brown and Levinson (1978), and Gass and Selinker (2008) argue that there are some aspects of speech acts that appear universal but their forms are subject to cultural elaboration. These cross-cultural differences in language use

are indicative of larger socio-cultural differences that underline language usage internationally and definitely it is at this point that considerable inter-cultural misunderstanding arises. This further indicates that successful intercultural communication can be achieved through the consideration of cultural values and pragmatic differences that could influence the choice of strategies for conveying certain speech acts. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984) emphasise that people should know both the semantic formulae essential for performing communicative acts and the associated cultural values, attitudes and beliefs, so they can develop an intuitive understanding of the culture-specific rules and norms for communicating appropriately in the target language.

The universality of speech act could be considered at the level of regulative representations, say about the need to communicate indebtedness with diversity regarding (a) lower level representations (e.g. regulative representation: Formal greeting in English when you meet a person: Good afternoon/Good evening. Formal greeting in Arabic:"السّلام عليكم ", 'assala:mu ʕaljkum', " Pease be upon you, Hello"; (b) also at the higher regulative level would be information about situations in which you would use the formal greeting (e.g. Good Afternoon is not appropriate at 7 am, whereas "السّلام عليكم" , 'assala:mu ʕaljkum' , " Pease be upon you, Hello" is not restricted in relation to time.). So, in order to establish universality we need to look at the resemblances between higher level regulative representations across cultures. Thanking could be considered universal in that people across the world have some special way of communicating indebtedness for benefitting from the actions of others, but the detail of the higher representations (e.g. about situations in which expressing indebtedness is appropriate and the various ways of expressing it may be vastly different. These higher order representations may include assumptions about the appropriateness of thanking in situations where the main point of the communicative act is not to acknowledge the speaker's indebtedness to the hearer. In point of fact, speech act universality does not inevitably mean that similar forms are used by speakers from different cultures to express the same speech act. As an example, as the case in this study, gratitude expression in English differs from that of Arabic. Thus, an

English person might express gratitude to a person by presenting a gift to him/her or by merely saying “thanks a lot” “You remembered my birthday”, whereas an Arabic person might reply saying "اقدر لك ذلك عالياً”, ‘>uqadir lak ða:lik ʕa:liyan’, ‘I really appreciate that’, “انت كريم جدا”, ‘>nta kari:m dʒidan ’, ‘You are very generous’, “جزاك الله خيرا”,‘dʒaza:k Allah xjran’, ‘May God reward you’, and they see that it is inevitably to give something in return. The researcher in this study assumes that the existence of differences among cultures in the way communicative acts are institutionalised can lead to miscommunication or even communication breakdown unless acknowledged by the speakers and the hearers as will be shown in the next section. Another important observation is that the actual use of an institutionalised speech act is not to be seen as determined by a set of rigid rules and norms, but through the interaction of the higher level representations about the use of the act, the context of situation, and the speaker's personal aims and preferences.

2.7 The communication of gratitude and institutionalisation

Social Institutions (e.g. religion, law, marriage, etc.) are defined as “a complex of positions, roles, norms and values lodged in particular types of social structures and organising relatively stable patterns of human activity with respect to fundamental problems in producing life-sustaining resources, in reproducing individuals, and in sustaining viable societal structures within a given environment” (Turner, 1997: 6). Searle (1996: 72) argues that ‘linguistic facts are also institutional facts’. To clarify the meaning of the word ‘institutions’, Searle distinguishes between ‘regulative’ and ‘constitutive’ rule. Regulative rules “regulate antecedently existing activities whereas constitutive rules “do not merely regulate, they also create the possibility of certain activities”. Searle (1996: 28) argues that “institutional facts exist only within systems of constitutive rules” and many institutional facts would be inconceivable without the corresponding performative speech acts.

Searle (1996: 60) points out that language is “the basic social institution in the sense that all others [other social institutions] presuppose language, but language

does not presuppose the others". As argued by Searle (2005), language plays a vital role in the constitution of institutions but it would be possible for a language to exist independently of any other institutions specifically concerned with language. Hodgson (2006: 13) points out that "language is basic since all institutions involve social interaction and interpretation of some kind. Accordingly, all institutions involve at least rudimentary interpretative rules". Institutions both constrain in terms of rules and open up possibilities by enabling choices and actions such as the rules of language which regulate and allow us to communicate (Hodgson, 2006). The mental representations or the rules of an institution are partly constitutive of that institution because an institution can exist only if people have specific and related beliefs and mental attitudes Searle (1995; 2005). Language is an institution which comprises a relatively particular type of interactive activity (i.e. communication that involves differentiated actions (i.e. speaking and hearing/understanding), that are performed frequently and by many people in compliance with a structured unitary system of conventions (i.e. linguistic conventions, and social norms) (Miller, 2011). Language could be viewed as a system whose function is cognitive (i.e. string information mentally, retrieving information and performing inferences) and as an instrument which serves communication purposes. The concept of language as an institution could be related to both concepts of pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics. Pragmalinguistics relates to the specific resources that certain language provides for conveying pragmatic meaning, while sociopragmatics relates pragmatic meaning to an assessment of community's social rules, the language and appropriateness norms, accepted behaviours, participants' social distance, and discourse practices (Marmaridou, 2011). In all institutionalised social activity (e.g. teaching, visiting a doctor's office, etc.), "speech is, in a way, prescribed: only certain utterances can be expected and will thus be acceptable; conversely, the participants in the situation, by their acceptance of their own and others' utterances, establish and reaffirm the social situation in which the utterances are uttered and in which they find themselves as utterers (Mey, 2001:219). Fraser and Nolen's (1981:94) notion of a conversational contract derive from institutional constraints stipulating the norms of behaviour that is

expected of interlocutors where the common terms of the contract outline"[…] what types of speech acts can be seen as appropriate" and are relative to institutions or cultures, thus recognised by all their members outline. However, Eelen (2001:216), operating within the terms of the conversational contract, indicates that individual freedom is rather restricted though "our contacts with institutions are practically realised through individuals within those institutions, and the institutions themselves also only exist through the efforts and behaviour of individuals who found them, vote for them, manage them, work for them, represent them, use them, etc.".

Watts (2003:20) claims that "Most forms of social interaction have become institutionalised and ... the appropriate discursive practices are known to us beforehand" through personal experiences and the way they have been associated with objectified social structures in the past. Eelen (2001) explains that the institutional terms related to rights and duties are imposed by social institutions such as rights of speaking in court. Watts (2003: 256) adds that linguistic behaviour depends on the amount of knowledge the interlocutors have regarding those objectified structures (i.e. "institutionalised forms of behaviour, rights and obligations of the individuals interacting within that field) and the power structures that form part of the field" and have internalised as part of their habitus. In this respect, the linguistic communication of gratitude could be institutionalised in the sense that people rely on their knowledge and assumptions regarding the use of certain semantic expressions for conveying gratitude could be viewed expectable, polite or impolite in relation to particular (types of) social situations under specific conditions (Watts, 2003). Watts (2003) exemplifies that "thank you very much indeed" is an institutionalised and expectable salient behaviour for being allowed to participate in a certain context.

In other words, the ways the communication of gratitude is institutionalised in different cultures (i.e. the culture-specific social norms of expressing gratitude) should be explained as resulting from the interplay between some universal features of social interaction and some culture-specific factors such as values and

attitudes. In view of this, and the fact that gratitude expressions serve a societal function, people should not only know the semantic formulae essential for expressing gratitude, but they should also be familiar with the cultural values, attitudes and beliefs to help them develop an axiomatic understanding of the culture-specific rules and norms for communicating gratitude in the given situations and target language.

As Bach and Harnish (1979) indicate, there are two types of institutionalisation: standardisation and conventionalisation. In the case of standardisation the construal goes beyond the literal meaning of the utterance and can be realised without referring to conventions. If there was no precedent for a specific use as Watts (2003) argues, the hearer would still be able to depend on the existing contextual information and find what the speaker intended to communicate. For example, speakers generally use the expressions "thank you very much" and "I appreciate that" when expressing gratitude, however if they ever find themselves in new situations they might come up with expressions such as "you have saved my life" and "I realise I have imposed on you a lot" to suit the given situation. The hearers' assumptions are a part of their knowledge about the contexts in which these expressions are typically intended to be used. The consequences of standardisation for gratitude expressions understanding are special from the social point of view as they have a part to play in turning gratitude expressions into a kind of social institution. In the same vein, choosing a suitable form of address terms when thanking someone is institutionalised because the thanker's assessment of the social and contextual variables help them to use an appropriate form of address in accordance with the thankee's relative social status. For example, when thanking a professor in Jordan, the customary method is to use the individual's professional title followed by their family name, otherwise the professor will feel insulted. This makes it reasonable to suppose that certain linguistic expressions create anticipations about the type of verbal activity in which they are standardly employed; hence turning this use into a type of social institution. This indicates that the formation and assumptions about how certain gratitude expressions (e.g. I highly appreciate that, thank ever so much) and a

number of others are commonly used in interaction as part of the process of establishing gratitude communication as a social institution which is a significant part of the process of institutionalisation of language usage in general.

Sperber (1996) characterises institutionalisation in terms of higher level/order representations (i.e. the general knowledge assumptions) about how lower level/order representations (words and their combinations and other communicative behaviours) are distributed (i.e. used in relation to particular situations under specific conditions). So, although the data of the present study is not naturally occurring data, it is valuable data because it tells us something important about their higher level representations about how gratitude is expressed in their socio-cultural groups. In other words, the standardisation of the use of linguistic expressions comes down to the interlocutors' general knowledge becoming so highly available that they conceal as rules which Žegarac (1998) refers to as 'ceteris paribus' rules to ensure that they are not mandatory; rather, they may be overridden in context without being violated. The ceteris paribus clause is important for the investigation of the communication of gratitude particularly because it is presumably the situation descriptions that provide some information about the ways in which higher level representations help to determine which types of gratitude expressions to use. Viewing thanking as an institutional expression, Watts (2003) categorises it into semi-formulaic and formulaic expressions. Formulaic ritualised utterances are defined as "highly conventionalised utterances, containing linguistic expressions which are used in ritualised forms of verbal interaction and have been reduced from fully grammatical structures to the status of extra-sentential markers of politic behaviour"(Watts, ibid:169). Examples of these formulaic expressions are: "thank you very much" "thanks" and "thank you very much indeed"). Semi-formulaic expressions are known as conventionalised forms which "carry out indirect speech acts appropriately to the politic behaviour of social situations" (Watts, 2003: 169) and may comprise linguistic forms which internally adapt a speech act to soften a statement's illocutionary force ("maybe", "probably"), solidarity markers which advocate participants' knowledge ("you know"), greetings and first names ("good

morning", "hi", "excuse me" and "bye"). Watts (ibid) observes that a speaker can be seen as inconsiderate, impolite or even rude if one fails to use these formulaic utterances when they are expected to in a conversation. This could be imputed to the fact that the distribution of 'semi formulaic' expressions in communication is not as constrained as that of formulaic expressions, because formulaic utterances in many English speaking cultures are sometimes considered 'negative' (Markus, 2011). By using a formulaic expression, speakers show that they are willing to satisfy the social expectation in a minimal way, which suggests that they do consider themselves actually indebted to the hearer but do not actually feel grateful. However, it should be noted that no linguistic expression is intrinsically polite or impolite, but is polite when used appropriately in a context.

Bach and Harnish (1979:108) illustrate conventionalisation as follows:

> Whereas a communicative intention is fulfilled by means of recognition of that intention, a conventional intention is fulfilled by means of satisfying a convention…For us conventions are count-as rules and nothing else. A convention is a mutually recognised means for doing something, counting as such only because mutually recognised, perhaps by having been agreed upon.

These conventions are assumptions about the use of specific linguistic items in certain social contexts. Regarding the communication of gratitude, the same expression that might be used before to signal gratefulness could also be used to signal criticism in another context.

Miller (2011) points out that culture is an important implicit dimension of an institution: cultural beliefs, norms, values and attitudes, which are heavily institutionalised in societies, play a major role in determining how people feel about each other in certain situational settings and how they express gratitude linguistically considering the socio-contextual variables. This indicates that communicative practices comprise of an interaction based notion of talk and an ideologically based notion of institutional order (i.e. shared habitual practices, values and beliefs) (Sarangi and Roberts, 1999). There is a point at which the

institutionalisation of language can be understood as constantly working in the structuring of discourse and as dependent upon an ongoing process of ideological sedimentation of metapragmatic types. This is exciting because there are parts of this ideological process that are more accessible to conscious reflection (presumably, the sedimentation of types), and parts that are at a level that Bourdieu (1977) talks about as habitus - the habitual structuring of language pragmatics and metapragmatics. This would account for both the somewhat resistant or non-transparent reactions of language to conscious (ideologically motivated) attempts at change and yet the central character of ideological reflection in institutionalised language use. However, it should also be noted that certain people are influenced by the constant exposure to institutionalised language ideology more than others (Lippi-Green, 1997).

Tsohatzidis (2007: 2) argues that "The distinctive feature of institutional facts is, according to Searle, that they only exist because they are collectively recognised as existing; the collective recognition in question takes the form of the collective acceptance of linguistically expressible constitutive rules through which entities are assigned functions of a special kind". Meijers (2003) contends that interaction is not a sequence of monological speech acts, rather speech acts are used in a conversation where speaker and hearer cooperate in order to reach understanding regarding the matter being discussed based on conventional means originate in prior cooperation. Thus, it is plausible that the linguistic communication of gratitude is institutionalised but not as a speech act, rather it could be perceived as Ohashi (2013) argues, as a social act where people work cooperatively to achieve social goals. Searle states that in order to establish a collective behaviour, each individual member of the supposed collective must have an appropriate we-intention "in his head". Searle is concerned with the important issue of how to explain communication as a collective activity given that it is not possible (in his view) to reduce the collective aspects of social interaction to individual psychology. This could be explained by mutual manifestness which is the disposition to represent certain beliefs as manifest to all participants in the communication event as being shared by all of them.

2.8 Chapter Summary

Chapter two presents a review of the literature relevant to the communication of gratitude which forms the theoretical framework of this study. The communication of gratitude has been discussed within Arabic, English and other languages and cultures. The research conducted on gratitude expression, to different degrees; reveal the prominent and subtle cultural variation in expressing gratefulness, cross-linguistic and cross-cultural influence. Overall, it has been found that the contextual and social variables as well as the socio-cultural norms have a great impact on the communicative act realisation. Thankers select their strategies in light of the situation variables, thus understanding the weightiness of these variables could help in finding out the reasons behind similar and different perspectives in expressing gratitude cross-culturally. This cultural diversity cannot be neglected because of the undesired consequences of cross-cultural miscommunication.

Theories of speech acts (i.e. Austin's classification of illocutionary forces, Searle's taxonomy of speech acts, and the Grice's notion of (in) directness have been critically reviewed. The chapter provides an extremely comprehensive discussion of the existing theoretical frameworks which have been proposed to examine socially appropriate and polite behaviour (i.e. traditional and post-modern models) in the literature of cross-cultural pragmatics and interlanguage pragmatics. The relation between gratitude and politeness is discussed. The notion of face is discussed as it contributes to our understanding of the social interaction and politeness. The difference between politeness1 and politeness2 is clarified. Culture universality and specificity theory has also been discussed because it plays a crucial role in understanding cross-cultural variation. Language ideologies have been defined variously as beliefs and implicit assumption about language use in socio-cultural contexts.

In summary, the review of the literature related to the communication of gratitude helped the researcher establish the validity of her research by revealing gaps in the existing literature on the expression of gratitude, and form the theoretical

framework and the methodology of this study. The methodology of the study will be further considered in Chapter Three.

Chapter Three: Methodology and the Structure of the Study

3.1 Introduction

To answer the research questions presented in the first chapter, a mixed methodology has been designed and employed. This chapter includes a description of the population and the subjects of this study (Section3.2), the research instruments employed (Section 3.3), research design and framework (Section3.4), instruments rationale and methodological consideration (Section 3.5), reliability and validity of the study (Section 3.6), data collection and analysis procedures including the coding scheme used for data analysis (Section 3.7). A summary is provided in Section 3.8

3.2 Population and subjects of the study

The population of this study consisted of two groups, namely native speakers of English and Jordanian native speakers of Arabic. The total number of subjects recruited was 92 in the academic year 2011/2012. The participants in this research were selected from groups of postgraduate students from Jordan and England, rather than from the general public. This was done in order to investigate the standard language and to ensure that the groups were relatively homogeneous, thus minimising the influence of dialects and sociolects (the sub-cultures associated with them) on the data. The respondents were relatively homogenous in term of their cultural background (Jordanian Arabs, English natives).

The groups of participants consisted of male and female native speakers of Arabic and English. They were 46 native speakers of English (30 participated in both the DCT and role-play and 16 participated in only in the DCT), and 46 Jordanians native speakers of Arabic (30 participated in both the DCT and role-play, 16 participated only in the DCT). They were all postgraduate students in Jordan and the United Kingdom from the scientific and Humanities branches. None of the respondents were majoring in English or Arabic, and none had experience of cross-cultural studies. This is due to the fact that they could have been particularly familiar with linguistic pragmatics as part of their curriculum. They were studying subjects ranging from Business Studies, Psychology, Engineering to Pharmacy in various universities in Jordan and the United Kingdom. None had experience of living abroad. They were university students aged twenty and forty years. Table 3.1 is a summary overview of the general characteristics of the participants in terms of gender, age, level of study and program.

Table 3. 1: Summary of the general characteristics of the Jordanian and English participants

Participants	Gender		Level of the study		Program		Age range		
	F	M	MA	PhD	Scientific	Humanities	20-26	27-33	34-40
Jordanians	34	12	29	17	22	24	9	18	19
English	20	26	17	29	31	15	27	9	10

3.3 Pragmatics research instruments

Research reveals diverse data-collection methods through which cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics have been studied; that is, discourse completion tasks (DCTs), field notes, and natural conversation (Yuan, 2001), retrospective interviews (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993), self-reporting, introspection, diary writing, and verbal reports, (Schmidt, 1993; Cohen, 1996). Despite the variety of these research methodologies, there is still an on-going debate on their suitability

as they all have advantages and drawbacks. However, the main goal of many of them remains eliciting data that are to some extent similar to real-life data in a controlled setting. Therefore, Kasper (2000: 340) claims that "research into adequate data gathering methodology remains a lasting concern in pragmatics research". In view of this, many studies have been conducted to compare and evaluate these methods such as discourse completion tasks (DCTs), natural observation and role-plays, and multiple choice questionnaires (Eisenstein and Bodman; 1993; Sasaki, 1998; Yamashita, 1996). A thorough discussion of the pragmatic instruments' advantages and potential limitations devised for the collection of communicative acts, especially gratitude expressions is presented as follows:

3.3.1 Discourse Completion Task (DCT)

Discourse completion task (DCT) has been the most extensively-used method for data collection in pragmatics research. It was first employed by Blum-Kulka (1982) to investigate pragmatic speech act realisations. In DCT, participants are provided with a number of described situations with spaces to be filled by what they would say if they were in such situations in real life. Kasper and Dahl (1991:221) define it as 'written questionnaires including a number of brief situational descriptions, followed by a short dialogue with an empty slot of the speech act under study. This indicates that it is a type of unfinished dialogue which should be complemented by a rejoinder which is a sociolinguistic appropriate speech act.

DCTs generally aim to examine a linguistic act within extremely pre-identified parameters such as speakers' relationship, language proficiency level, as well as the subjects' nationality. According to Cummings and Beebe (2006:80), DCTs are "highly effective means of instrumentation". They have been found advantageous as they enable researchers to:

(a) Collect great amounts of data promptly with low costs within a short period (its efficacy in administration) makes a valuable and essential instrument in cross-

cultural pragmatic research (Wolfson, 1989; Cummings and Beebe, 2006, Nurani, 2009).

(b) Make an initial generalisation of semantic formulas and strategies used by the target population which are likely to be part of natural communicative speech (May, 2001).

(c) Vary and control the social and situational variables (age, social distance, status, imposition of the situation) that may influence communicative act performance (Cummings and Beebe, 2006; Blum-Kulka, et al., 1989; Rintell and Mitchell, 1989). The control of these variables also facilitates exploring the conventional socio-cultural polite responses which in turn satisfies the needs of for easy cross-cultural comparability (Hill et al., 1986; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Cummings and Beebe, 2006).

(d) Investigate the psychological and social issues which are likely to influence performing speech acts (Cummings and Beebe, 2006).

(f) Shape the communicative speech acts' structure as they are in the speakers' minds (Cohen, 1996; Cummings and Beebe, 2006)

(g) Save time as they do not require transcription and facilitate a statistical comparison of responses cross-culturally (Lewin, 2005).

(h) According to Golato (2003), data elicited by DCTs are consistent with naturally occurring data, at least in the main patterns and formulas.

Despite the above mentioned advantages, it has been criticised as it does not elicit naturally occurring data and it is extremely controlled (Golato, 2003; Schauer and Adolphs, 2006; and Yuan, 2001). Likewise, Cummings and Beebe (2006) and Tran (2004) argue that their data differ from real life data. This has been explained by Boxer (1996)'s claim that DCTs elicit only what the subjects believe they should say, not what they really do in reality. Thus, the researcher acknowledges that the DCT's results only reflect the participants' belief of how they would have or wish to behave/reply which may or may not be identical to their real-life

context (Ellis, 2008). In addition, Cummings and Beebe (2006) contend that the written DCT collect data different from the natural data in the response length, the actual wording used in real interaction, the range of the employed strategies such as avoidance strategy which tends to be ignored.

Moreover, researchers argue they do not demonstrate the communicative information such as the number of turns taken to execute the communicative function, prosodic speech characteristics, elaboration, repetition and the sequence organisation of conversation (Cummings and Beebe, 2006; Cohen, 1996; Schauer and Adolphs, 2006). Thus, they do not exhibit nonverbal speech features in communication (Cohen, 1996) and the actual rate of occurrence of a speech act in a given situation (i.e. the certainty that particular speech act would naturalistically be used in a given situation). Besides, they lack profundity and depth of the expressed sentiment and emotion which in turn qualitatively influences the tone, form, and content of linguistic performance (Cummings and Beebe, 2006).

On the other hand, a number of studies found that there was no discrepancy amongst written questionnaires, natural observation, and role-plays (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993; Rintell and Mitchell, 1989; Sasaki, 1998) in terms of the range of preferred strategies (Schauer and Adolphs (2006:127). However, they are different in complexity and length where the authentic data are the most complex and longest, the DCT results were the shortest and least complex and the role-play data were in between. Eisenstein and Bodman (1993) indicate that the major discrepancy among these methods was the length of communication (i.e. the number of strategies used). However, the outcomes reveal that the discrepancy found in the speech length among them was generally because of the hesitations, longer supportive moves, discussions about the received service and gift and repetitions found in oral communication. Thus, they deduce that the written data were "representative of certain aspects of natural language use" (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993: 71).

Schauer and Adolphs (2006:129) reveal that the DCT data differ from the natural data in the availability of the strategy's type "thanking + stating intent to

reciprocate". They ascribe this difference to the extra time participants take to respond to DCT's situations which enable them to think carefully about their response and opt to produce an additional politeness strategy. However, the corpus data provided comprehensive insights into further thanking contexts and the use of gratitude expressions over numerous conversational turns.

Cummings and Beebe (2006) note that the DCTs' responses differ from natural speech in terms of wording, usage, elaborations, series of formulas and strategies, repetition, depth of emotion, and rates of incidences of the speech act. Despite these differences, Beebe and Cummings (ibid) showed that DCT in several respects accurately reflects the content conveyed in natural data. Thus, apart from the length and range of the semantic formulae, these data collection methods will provide fairly similar results.

Furthermore, Rintell and Mitchell (1989) found differences amongst non-native speakers' responses in role-play which were significantly longer compared to their written responses, besides, both native and non-native speakers were more direct in their DCT responses than in their role-play in particular situations. Margalef-Boada (1993) found role-plays allowing more avoidance strategies, repetition, and negation than written questionnaire. Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1992) found that the DCT and natural data differed in terms of type and frequency of strategies. Other validation studies such as Rose (1994) Rose and Ono (1995) reveal significant differences between responses elicited by DCTs and multiple choice questionnaires. In addition, researchers indicate that the prompt provided in the DCTs influences the participants' choice of strategies (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989, Rose, 1994; Billmyer and Varghese, 2000). On the other hand, researchers reveal similarity between written DCTs, natural and role-plays data in terms of words and expressions (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986; 1993; Sasaki, 1998). Bergman and Kasper (1993:169) argue that if under a low-pressure situation, DCT's participants are unable to perform native-like norms, "it would be more unlikely that they would be able to function more effectively in face-to-face interactions with their accompanying pressures and constraints".

In addressing methodological concerns in cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics, Kasper (2000) signifies that when the research's focus is conversational communication, especially the sequencing of communicative performance in conjunction with turn-taking, an interactive procedure such as role-play needs to be chosen. On the contrary, Kasper argues that employing DCT is an effective means of collecting data if the study aims to "inform about speakers' pragmalinguistic knowledge of the strategies and linguistic forms by which communicative acts can be implemented, and about their sociopragmatic knowledge of the contextual factors under which particular strategic and linguistic choices are appropriate" (Kasper, ibid: 329). Thus, although not comparable to face-to-face interaction, DCT is effective in examining the interlocutors' pragmatic competence which is their knowledge of the appropriateness of form, and meaning in social contexts. This indicates that it enables researchers to compare the performance of communicative acts between native speakers and non-native speakers. In light of the argument and the fact that the purpose of this study is to investigate the subjects' use of gratitude expression strategies under certain situations, rather than to examine the pragmatic aspects which are specific to the dynamics of an interaction such as speaker-listener coordination, turn-taking, and sequencing of speech, the researcher believes that the production instrument (i.e. DCT) is a sufficient instrument and should be selected as discussed further in Section 3.5.

3.3.2 Role-play

Role-play situations are an imitation of actual social communications presumed and performed by participants' identified roles within particular situations. Kasper and Rose (2002:86) define role-play as "a social or human activity in which participants 'take on' and 'act out' specified 'roles', often within a predefined social framework or situational blueprint (a 'scenario')". A distinction has been proposed based on the conversation extension between open or closed role-plays where the former involves taking speaking turns by participants to produce the required data and the latter involves one-turn speaking by the role-play conductor

based on data received from the situation informant. In both role-play types, instructions that specify the initial situation, the roles, and the participant's communicative goal are given to subjects. Hendriks (2002) calls for using role-play to enrich and enhance DCT data. Due to the aim of eliciting data very close to the real-life data taking into consideration the complexity of natural and open role-play data, the closed role-play was used. The closed not open role-play has been used as I suppose that the presence of the imaginary DCT character (not a real life interlocutor/ person) and his/her response might affect the participant's response which in turn might result in interactions different from the authentic ones. As Yuan (2001: 284) argues, in open role-play "respondents have to say everything in one turn, causing longer DCT response than what is actually produced in natural speech, at least in the first turn". Closed role-play is also easier to administer than the open role-play and suits eliciting speech acts and their responses.

As DCTs, role-plays permit controlling social variables and can be duplicated which in turn allows eliciting a specific speech act and enables exploring how social and contextual variables influence the realisation of the target speech act. They provide oral data that resemble real-life production which enable researchers to analyse not only the content of the speech acts, but also their discourse features such as tone, intonation, laughter, stress, pauses, repetition, sequence organisation, overlapping, turns and moves in an utterance etc. Additionally, its potential to elicit sociolinguistic and pragmatic features has been successfully recognised in research on many speech acts (see Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993). Kasper and Dahl (1991) argue that role-play is the most appropriate data elicitation instrument that can substitute authentic discourse as they share the same features. In particular, role-play produces all aspects of conversations, and allows the emergence of spontaneity. On the other hand, they have some shortcomings. Firstly, they require transcribing, which is time-consuming (Kasper and Dahl, 1991). Secondly, their situations, as DCTs, could sometimes be are very controlled (Cohen and Olsthain, 1993). Thirdly, they have also been criticised as they do not elicit naturally occurring data. The taping itself may be regarded

intrusive for participants. Cohen (2006:25) contends that "it may still make some respondents uncomfortable, at least for the first few minutes".

Few investigations have examined the validity of role-plays in pragmatic research (Kasper, 2000). For example, Eisenstein and Bodman (1993) who explored the impact of role-play, DCT, and field notes on expressing gratitude found that they all resulted in the same expressions though differed in the number of the expressions elicited. In particular, the natural data were the longest and most complex, followed by the role-play and then by the DCT. Magralef-Boada, (1993) argues that compared with the DCT only role-play yield the same range and content of semantic formulae with different obvious distributions and a noticeable difference in the large number of expressions, repetition and length and complexity in the role-play as it allows more repetition, avoidance strategies and negotiation than written DCTs.

In addition, role-plays were also found to yield longer and more elaborated utterances with greater diversity (Rintell and Mitchell, 1989).These differences seem to be caused by the interactive nature of role-plays. In other words, participants often switched strategies for the same situations using different methods. Moreover, Yuan (2001) found that the role-play produces a significantly greater number of natural speech features than the DCT. Sasaki (1998) also found differences between data written DCT data and role-play data in terms of the semantic formulas and the response length. These findings suggest that neither the DCTs nor the role-play can be simply substituted for each other and thus, both should be used for eliciting pragmatic data because the role-plays' responses provide additional audio-visual information, which might influence the results.

Overall, in this study, the researcher has used DCT and role-play as well as the interview as instruments to gather gratitude expression data due to their suitability to the research questions besides the above mentioned advantages as well as to add to the reliability of the findings. As recommended by Cummings and Beebe (2006:81), researchers should "gather data through multiple approaches since each approach has its own strengths and weaknesses". In addition, in spite of the

reported advantages of using DCT and role-plays, the researcher attempts to assess their validity and effectiveness in examining gratitude expressions.

In addition, most of these validation studies are of a between-subjects design. This means that research participants are enrolled in only one of the study's instruments. Doing so may introduce the effect of groups as a confounding factor which indicates that the differences were caused by the group impact instead of diverse data collection techniques. To avoid the group impact, a within-subjects design (i.e. the same participants undergo all the study's conditions/ participate in all the research instruments used for the given purpose) has been implemented. This would be more proper for a methodological validation study. Aside from the indecisive findings, previous studies also recommend that exceptional care in the research instrument design of further research is needed. Bachman (1990) and Alderson et al. (1995) highlight the importance of employing a within-subjects design for checking the reliability and validity of diverse techniques as evaluation measures. Thus, this study attempts to fill the gap by using a within-subject design and comparing gratitude expressions gleaned from closed role-play and written DCT.

3.3.3 Interview

Conducting interviews as a qualitative pragmatic research method is beneficial compared to the above mentioned pragmatic methods in that it can yield data that better describes people's perception of both their behaviour and its associated social reality. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000:267) "… the interview is not simply concerned with collecting data about life: it is part of life itself, its human embeddedness is inescapable.".

Gray (2004: 214) explains the necessity of using interviews as a research instrument for collecting data as follows:

- A need to get highly personalised data.

- Opportunities essential for probing (carry out interview to get more useful data).

- A good return rate is significant.

Two types of interviews have been identified: structured closed- ended interviewing and semi-structured open-ended interviewing. According to Burns (2000) and Corbetta (2003), structured closed-ended interview entails asking the interviewees the same questions using the same wording in the same order. Bryman (2001:107) states that structured interview entails "the administration of an interview schedule by an interviewer". Bryman adds that the aim of this interview style is to ensure that the interviews' replies can be easily aggregated, analysed and coded. This type enables the interviewer to make comparison among certain groups of informants. According to May (2001), the data yielded can also be a good representation of the population involved and are reliable to make generalisations.

However, structured closed-ended interviews are criticised for introducing some rigidity and inflexibility as the questions provided are specific and closed-ended (Corbetta, 2003). This indicates that certain answers will be given. In other words, having a list of pre-planned questions is likely to hinder the interviewer's freedom in probing and going beyond the already set questions to query about relevant information and interviewees' attitudes and perceptions. This in turn could minimise the degree of trust among the interviewer and the interviewees. This might also threaten the validity of the data as respondents may not receive sufficient information and comprehend the question to give an adequate answer.

I have used the open-ended semi structured interview as it is perceived as being more flexible. That is the order and wording of the questions in this type of interview can be changed based on the direction of the interview and the interviewer's discretion. This means that they are more reliable in yielding valid responses about the interviewees' perceptions and attitudes about their reality and experiences (Punch, 2005).

Semi structured interview is also advantageous in terms of giving more time to interviewing the informant, hence getting more detailed responses (Burns, 2000). This means that answers will be given from the informants' viewpoint using their native language, not being influenced by the interviewer's standpoint trying to use expressions to meet his/her expectations. It also enables the interviewers to probe deeper for more ideas, and views from the interviewee which in turn enables to elucidate the topic/theme under investigation (Patton, 2002). Besides, it enables the researcher to explain or rephrase the questions if participants find them unclear. Furthermore, Gomm (2004) highlights that the friendly atmosphere in which the interview is conducted makes the interview more naturalistic where interviews are similar to normal conversations or chats.

Burns (2000) contends that this type of interviews might yield an inaccurate interpretation of the informants' reality. In response to this critique, May (2001:112) suggests that the use of interviews in conjunction with questionnaires, allows the researcher to ask participants about their perception of particular social behaviours in certain contexts.

3.4 Research design and framework

The methods employed in the study involve: data collection, description, analysis and interpretation. The present research is empirical and has some theoretical insights. I followed both descriptive (i.e. frequencies and percentages) and inferential statistics in analysing the data related to the first question regarding the difference of the realisation of gratitude expressions from a cross-cultural perspective and the second question concerning the differences between the gratitude expression data between both pragmatic research instruments: DCT and role-play. The thematic analytical approach is mainly followed in analysing the data of the third research question regarding the perception of both cultural groups about the expression of gratitude. The independent variables[50] (i.e. the social and

[50] The independent variable is the manipulated variable whereas the dependent variable is the associated output or the effect (Dodge et al., 2003).

contextual variables of social status, social familiarity, and degree of imposition) were identified. To ensure a successful cross-cultural comparison of the communication of gratitude, it is necessary to compare similar situations regarding the degree of imposition, interlocutors' social status, and familiarity (Brown and Levinson, 1987:15) (see Table 3.3). The number and type of strategy were also identified as the dependent variables to decide whether the differences between both groups and instruments (oral and written) are statistically significant. This necessitates classifying the gratitude utterances used by speakers of the two languages in addition to identifying their semantic formulas used (see Section 3.7.1).

Theoretically, the present study is situated within (im)politeness research. I have adopted a more synthesised theoretical framework for analysing the collected data, which integrates some updated discursive politeness models, such as Locher and Watts' relational work (2005), Spencer-Oatey (2000, 2008), Arundale (2006) and Terkourafi (2005).

The study draws on Locher and Watts' (2005) position to "abandon any attempts to develop a universal, cross-culturally valid theory of politeness altogether" and Watts' (2003: 255) view that "(im)politeness then becomes part of the discursive social practice through which we create, reproduce and change our social worlds". The analysis of the data is based on politeness1 which the participants' perception of what constitutes politeness, and how they observe politeness to be in different interactional practices within different social contexts, rather than how their interaction fits within a conception devised by academics. Watts (2003) and Locher (2006a) argue that there is no inherently polite or impolite linguistic behaviour. They acknowledge that conventional linguistics realisations, which are generally used to index one communicative act and express politeness in one community, might be used to index a different communicative act in another community. This indicates that linguistic behaviours (utterances) are open to interpretations in certain situation. In the case of expressing gratitude, the expression 'I am sorry' could also be used to convey gratitude whereas "thank

you" could also be used sarcastically. Thus, politeness strategies should be regarded as part of relational work. The present study focuses on linguistic expressions used by speakers strategically to express relational work, negotiate face and express politeness in a fully contextualised situation which further reflects different socio-cultural values in both communities.

I have particularly utilised Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2008) concept of rapport management which accounted for my data well. Gratitude expression could be a rapport sensitive communicative act without inevitably being viewed as intrinsically a face-threatening act as argued by Brown and Levinson (1987). This is because conveying gratitude helps to establish, enhance or maintain smooth social relationships among people as well as to improve their standing in others' eyes. In fact, it can contribute to face by making the thankee feel appreciated and respected. In light of this, we can state that relational work is attained through establishing and maintaining close relationships in conveying gratitude.

The present study is data-driven and follows Terkourafi's approach/model of politeness in employing both qualitative and quantitative methods and attempting to move beyond Brown and Levinson's work by concentrating on contextual variation. What differentiates Terkourafi's premises (i.e. face-constituting and rationality) from Brown and Levinson's (1987) approach is that theirs are restricted to its individual dimension and does not acknowledge its societal dimension. These premises are perceived to be accountable for gearing conduct toward the establishment and re-enactment of norms or habits of polite behaviour. In other words, although Terkourafi (2005: 248) in her frame-based approach retains Brown and Levinson's speech act analysis, she modifies it so that "the participants' own observable responses that guide the classification of any particular utterance as realising a particular type of act, and moreover as a polite realization of that act"; rather than the analysts' projecting their own understanding into the data.

The account of politeness has been modelled around three key notions: frames, face and ideology. The current study draws on the conceptualisation of politeness

as being "frame-based" which is the participants' prior knowledge of contexts and the behaviour that can be politely applied in such settings (Terkourafi, 2005). Politeness within the frame-based approach is equated with regularity - "politeness resides not in linguistic expressions themselves, but in the regularity of this co-occurrence [between linguistic expressions and a given context" (ibid: 248). Brown (2008) argues that the frame-based view offers an advantage in providing a mechanism whereby behaviour can be compared to societal norms without assuming or relying on pre-established prescriptive politeness norms such as in Brown and Levinson (1978) and Ide (1989), or rejecting them (Watts, 1989), rather it "acknowledges norms to the extent that these can be empirically observed" (Terkourafi 2005: 247). Following Goffman's (1967) conception of face, face is perceived as a relational concept which explores different features of human interaction between interactants, who negotiate their intention to reach a mutual agreement in exchange. As Arundale (2006) puts it, face is conceptualised in light of the relationship that is interactionally achieved between interlocutors, rather than Brown and Levinson's (1987) person-centred concept. The relational nature of gratitude necessitates reviewing the communication of gratitude according to people's perceptions, discernments, and judgements of its appropriateness and its related social functions. Face is closely associated with the threat of "losing face" that is a result of acting inappropriately and the interlocutors' identity. Identity is related to one's sense of self (Culpeper, 2011a) whereas self is viewed by Fiske and Taylor (1991:181-182) as "the person's mental representation of his or her own personality, attributes, social roles, past experience, future goals, and the like". According to Alexander and Knight (1971), cited in Culpeper (2011a: 13), identities are selves enacted by behaviours in certain contexts. In other words, I argue that expressing gratitude appropriately does not only require knowledge of the frames where different forms can be appropriately employed, but also that interlocutors adopt certain identities and roles that accompany such usage. Ideology is of a relative importance because speakers may tend to use common-sense beliefs regarding politeness in terms of emphasising, underestimating or avoiding certain modes of politeness in their interaction.

The notions of face-constituting and rationality are treated in a more socially-relevant way. Face is not perceived as individual construct, and rationality is not viewed as constituting individual reasoning concerning "cost", "means" and "end" (as in Brown and Levinson 1987: 64-65), rather as Terkourafi (2005: 250) observes that the interlocutor's choice of a certain linguistic strategy within a specific context is constrained by what the individual assumes the addressee would be able to recognise, construe or approve through the use of such strategies. This knowledge limits the range of potential utterances/strategies (Terkourafi, 2005) with anticipations concerning the social meanings and consequences of such utterances/strategies, where the most rational choice represents the most "normal", "least costly" and "least likely" to cause face threat (Terkourafi, 2005). This socially-based yet rational preference of speakers in choosing certain strategies to avoid costly and face-threatening modes of interaction, accounts for the speakers' motivation to consider politeness norms in their communication of gratitude. This indicates that Terkourafi's (2005) model considers both the interlocutors' intentions and the importance of recognising social norms within a theory of politeness. Thus, politeness is perceived as a matter of degree and determining the appropriate degree of politeness by choosing the appropriate linguistic expression depends on the interlocutors' assessment of (mutual) obligations and costs. In cases of lack of norms, speakers refer to other pre-existing frames which are very similar to the new situation. In cases of lack of pre-established frame-based norm, speakers use novel linguistic behaviour outside of typical norms where "assumptions will be more tentative, and the speaker will need to rely more extensively on trial and error" Terkourafi (2005: 250).

3.5 Instruments rationale and methodological consideration

This section introduces the rationale for using a mixed methodology of DCT, role-play and interview. Although DCTs and role-plays may not be entirely reliable research instruments as they do not essentially mirror precisely an individual's behaviour in, and their associated perceptions of, naturally occurring exchanges, these data collection methods afford researchers the opportunity to gather typical responses pertaining to instances of typical situations from members of certain

cultural groups, enabling them to classify rejoinders in a way which shows how representative these rejoinders are of specific situations in certain cultures. Therefore, the DCTs' and role-plays' elicited data are viewed as being generated based on real life experience and naturally occurring data. It should be noted that there is no perfect research instrument, but the suitability of any research instrument lies in its ability to meet the target research aim. To meet the aims of the study, well-designed DCTs and role-plays represent valuable instruments for informing about speakers' pragmalinguistic knowledge of linguistic forms (i.e. the strategies) as they shape the communicative speech acts' structure as they are in the speakers' minds as well as reveal their perception, metapragmatic and sociopragmatic knowledge of the contextual variables under which specific strategies are appropriate (Kasper and Rose, 2002). The DCT and role-play allow the researcher to present participants with situations constructed for a particular communicative purpose in order to investigate how they think they would respond to the specified situational context and audience. The DCT and role-play help the researcher reveal the normative aspect of expressing gratitude through eliciting the respondents' perception concerning how people would normally express gratitude in a particular event, hence they offer "insights into the prescriptive nature of a given thanking episode, i.e. what informants believe to be common/normative/polite in certain situations" (Ohashi, 2013: 3). Iwai and Rinnert (2001) and Suzuki (2009) argue that the DCT's responses are valid because participants' intuitions about what they would say correspond closely to what they have said in similar situations. In addition, it reveals grounded norms empirically which are important in order to understand the emerging meaning in interaction. Thus, they yield data that indicate the respondents' tendencies, or specific cultural orientation based on their perception and understanding of their cultural norms and prior experience concerning certain gratitude expression event (Ohashi, 2013; Kasper and Rose, 2002). Therefore, it appears reasonable to assume that the DCT and role-play represents an appropriate methodology for exploring the frame-based knowledge interlocutors possess concerning gratitude expression. DCTs and role-play help to identify salient and trends tendencies

concerning the communication of gratitude and manipulation of strategies in face-threatening situations in relation to politeness ideologies.

Although the DCT and role-play were well-designed to elicit data that was as faithful to real-life exchanges as possible, and the participants were required to reply to the social gratitude-provoking situations in a way which reflected how they would use language in their own natural communications, rather than according to prescribed social rules of language use, this does not presume any claim that the way respondents expressed gratitude necessarily replicated real-life usage. It should be noted that the DCTs' results monitor knowledge or competence rather than actual performance, according to Kasper and Rose (ibid), and only reflect the participants' belief of how they would have or wished to behave/reply which may or may not be identical to their real-life behaviour (Ellis, 2008). Thus, the type of data elicited by DCTs represents an idealised form of the participants' knowledge of language rather than the dynamics of naturally occurring interaction, and could be an instrumental contribution to being considered as a baseline for analysing gratitude expressions of native and non-native speakers' naturally occurring data, instead of being an end-point in itself.

Since the present study is comparative in nature, DCTs and role-plays are reliable enough to enable the collection of data which is comparable to natural data (are consistent with naturally occurring data, at least in the main patterns and formulas) with low costs within a short period in a controlled context (where we can vary and control the social and situational variables), and sufficiently accurate for testing the hypotheses under investigation and enable drawing a generalisation of semantic formulas and strategies used by the a sample of target populations of sufficient size. This in turn facilitates a statistical comparison of responses cross-culturally in relation to a number of variables (e.g. degree of imposition, social familiarity and social status). In such type of contrastive studies, they are a remedy for the problem of lack of practicality related to tape-recording real-life data in pragmatics research.

The use of semi-structured audio-taped interviews was chosen due to its important advantages such as: (i) helping to reveal how salient usages are linked to identity construction during real-life interactions because interlocutors from different cultures differ in negotiating their social relationships and faces as the salient modes of using gratitude expressions does not only resonate well with their perspectives of politeness, but are also necessitated somewhat by their social positions, (ii) can yield data which reflect peoples' perceptions of gratitude expressing behaviour and the social realities associated with it better than other similar research instruments, (iii) the interview facilitates the identification and analysis of the underlying motives for the linguistic communication of gratitude and related factors, (iv) makes possible the collection of rich data (about feelings, opinions, and factual assumptions), providing valuable evidence for understanding communicative act performance in relation to the underlying competence in a theoretically plausible way (v) allows for in-depth probing, as the researcher can freely introduce ad hoc follow up questions during the interview, (vi) is considered better than other types of interview since the objectives of the present study are clearly identified and in any case, if unexpected issues arise, they can be explored, (vii) the participants are in a less controlled and more comfortable atmosphere than they would be had another similar instrument been opted for.

While the employed research instruments do not allow for collecting naturally occurring data, they are well-suited to collecting data which provides valuable insight into the expression of gratitude as an institutionalised speech act in two societies: England and Jordan (as discussed in section 2.7). In particular, Sperber (1996) characterises institutionalisation in terms of higher level representations about how lower level representations (words and their combinations and other communicative behaviours) are distributed (i.e. used in relation to particular situations). So, although the data of the present study is not naturally occurring data, it is invaluable mainly because we are investigating peoples' perceptions about expressing gratitude and these perceptions tell us something important about peoples' beliefs in relation to the communication of gratitude in particular types of social situations.

It is noteworthy to mention that it was not possible to base the study on naturally occurring data due to the time and the funding that would be required to record an adequate number of naturally occurring interactions involving the communication of gratitude while controlling the relevant variables. Recording authentic interactions occurring in real-life takes a long period of time which in turn may affect getting sufficient communicative speech act data due to the low frequency of their occurrence (Tran, 2003, 2004). Cummings and Beebe (2006) also argue that natural data is often regarded as unsystematic and does not satisfactorily represent the speech of any identifiable group of speakers due to uncontrolled situations. Consequently, studies which use natural data methods are limitedly replicable and comparable across cultures and languages. Observation was not feasible for the present contrastive study as it does not guarantee having a homogeneous sample of population which in turn could call into question the extent to which the data are representative. The lack of knowledge about the participants and the social variables, which can be controlled up to a point, could hinder understanding of how gratitude expression and politeness are perceived and realised in both cultures. Needless to say, the covert method of observation is ethically unacceptable as it constitutes a breach of peoples' privacy (Bryman, 1989). Stubbs (1983: 225) argues that "the hunt for pure, natural, or authentic data is a chimera". In case of overt observation, this could be related to the speakers' tendency to manipulate their language to suit the context. In other words, interlocutors might be influenced by the presence of an observer, his/her actions, and personal characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age). In addition, interlocutors also pay attention to one's speech pattern, which in turn correlates strongly with the number of speakers and may cause a shift in their speech style and change the linguistic forms utilised, in an effort to sound appropriate to the target context. Participants tend to shift their normal style in a way which indicates their general awareness of the context and the involved social variables. This is referred to by Labov (1984: 30) as the 'observer's paradox' or 'experimenter effect'. The likelihood of such manipulation minimises finding entirely "natural" speech. Thus, Reiter (2000:67) concludes that "there appears to be no such thing as natural in any absolute sense since all language changes in order to be appropriate

to the situation". In light of this argument, I follow Wolfson's (1976) perception of natural speech as any speech suitable in the given context for achieving a certain goal.

The closed role-play was chosen because using open role-play in our study may be disadvantageous. This is because the open role is generally conducted by getting participants (e.g. students) to act a role, even if it is different from theirs (e.g. being a manager), to take speaking turns and to produce the required data. The present researcher assumed that the presence of a person (e.g. student) acting the role of professor in an open role-play and his/her response might affect the response of the main participants of the study. To get reliable data, this type of conversation should be conducted with real personalities (i.e. a real manager). The roles played in the present study as natural as possible as they were part of the participants' life (i.e. the participants were not asked to perform a role that was different from their real life role e.g., a boss, or a professor. Trosborg (1995) warns that imposing unfamiliar roles on participants would have an adverse impact on the naturalness of their performance.

I now comment on the advantages of using a mixed methodology in the present study. Admittedly, DCT reliability is still debatable, raising the significance of one instrument and downplay the value of the others is not always permitted. According to Rose and Ono (1995:207), ''we should not expect a single data source to provide all the necessary insights into speech act usage''. In light of this, Labov (1972) calls for the use of a variety of research methods. By the same token, Brown and Yule (1983) and Greene et al., (2005) emphasise that using a multiple-method approach is expected to improve the research's validity and credibility. As suggested by Billmyer and Varghese (2000) and Cohen (2006), triangulation provides mutual corroboration and allows assessing the sufficiency of the data, thus adding to the reliability of the findings. This motivated the present researcher to employ several types of instruments (DCT, role-play and interview) due to the necessity of having a research method that can successfully account for the way the cultural values under this study are systematically associated with and reflected in linguistic expressions of gratitude. These

instruments suit the present research's aims in investigating the communication of gratitude to elicit different levels of detail and determining their potential effectiveness in revealing cross-cultural variations. They would facilitate collecting large and comparable data. The calculation of the frequency of occurrence of thanking strategies through quantifying the DCT and role-play qualitative data is of great importance as it gives further insights into cross-cultural variability. The general trends and characteristics of gratitude expression identified in this data were then backed-up by and fleshed out through the analysis of qualitative data elicited by interviews which assisted in gaining some insight of the respondents' personal experiences, perception of gratitude politeness strategies, frequency, their related politeness features, as well as the variables that are likely to have an influence on them. This facilitated the contextualisation of both groups' gratitude expressions with respect to the social identities and linguistic/politeness ideologies. It is assumed that using more than one method will equip researchers with considerable triangulation which allows assessing the sufficiency of the data as very limited data is inadequate for testing any hypothesis (Nurani, 2009). The collation of the DCT and role-play yielded data with the interview elicited data enabled me to establish the extent to which participants' performance on these tasks could reflect real-life usage of gratitude expressions. The usage of DCT, role-play and interviews was also motivated by their sufficiency to allow cross-cultural comparison and their potential to elicit more authentic-comparable data, expand understanding and confirm the findings from different data sources. Triangulation is defined as seeking a convergence and confirmation of results from various methods investigating the same phenomenon (Johnson, and Onwuegbuzie, 2004: 22; Creswell, 2009: 16). Triangulation was found appropriate for the present study mainly because the primary data is not directly available (i.e. it is not available through direct observation) and because there are several methods with different but comparable strengths and weaknesses. Triangulation helps remedy the disadvantages of both qualitative and quantitative research. Since the present research aims to find out if there are cross-cultural differences between the languages of Jordan and England, actual performance data collected from a written mode (DCT) and an oral mode (role-

play) besides perception data gleaned from an interview could help triangulate to provide a more holistic understanding of any cross-cultural variation among these two markedly different cultures.

I am aware that using DCT only, for example, would not help us gain a clear picture of the perception of the participants about gratitude expression. Collecting naturally occurring data, but obtaining enough naturally occurring data while keeping the relevant variables under control would not be feasible given the time and the resources available for the present study. It was supposed that language behaviour is a form of communication that cannot be examined by using a multiple-choice format as such form would merely test recognition instead of use. I am also aware that using different methodologies would have led to perhaps a different outcome such as a contradiction between the quantitative and qualitative results which could have led to the inability to identify points of differences easily and clearly. To avoid this, data were elicited from all participants by means of each of the three research instruments, and an interview was employed to the same DCT's and RP's participants rather than new participants in order to assist the researcher in asking the participants to clarify and justify their responses, as well as to reflect on their underlying perceptions of gratitude expression (what is (im)proper/(im)polite) and the extent to which such perceptions influence their choice of strategies. This way helped the researcher identify differences between the target groups and avoid any contradiction between the quantitative and qualitative different results. It also provides insights that can be used to inform and guide further observation-based research. This in turn made it easier for the researcher to authenticate the findings of the quantitative analysis and generate insights from both sources of data.

I am also mindful of the possible risk of combining two or more research instruments which might influence each other in ways which are detrimental to the quality of the research. For example, the participants might remember the strategies they used in the first conducted method (e.g. DCT) and tend to use them in the second method (e.g. role-play), since the same situations have been used in

both methods. In order to avoid the threat of using mixed methods (the effect of the instruments used on each other), the researcher decided to counterbalance the order of the two instruments, i.e., half of the participants did the DCTs first, and the rest did the role-plays first. To avoid any possible practice effect, role-play and DCT methods were immediately followed by an interview, before taking part in the other instrument. The use of the interview also helped us investigate the participants' motives behind their way of expressing gratitude in each social situation, in order to elicit more detailed information unique to each gratitude expression situation, besides their general perception of gratitude expression.

40 semi-structured interviews were transcribed by key words in both English and Arabic[51]. Only data quoted were translated into English to keep them as accurate and retrievable as possible. The participants of all instruments were asked to sign a participation consent sheet (Appendix A).

3.6 Reliability and validity of the study

The researcher followed a number of procedures to ensure the validity of the research instruments (face validity, content validity, and construct validity)[52] and the overall reliability[53] of the research including the pilot study and the original study.

[51] No effort was made to note factors such as laughter, or time pause.

[52] Face validity is "the appropriateness, sensibility, or relevance of the test and its items seem valid and meaningful to the individuals taking the test" (Holden, 2010: 637). Content validity is "established by demonstrating that the items in the test appropriately sample the content domain" (Lawshe,1975: 565). Construct validity refers to " the experimental demonstration that a test is measuring the construct it claims to be measuring" (Brown, 1996: 8)

[53] Reliability describes the consistency of findings in the research process (Kirk and Miller, 1986).

3.6.1 Instruments' validity

3.6.1.1 Face validity

To attain face-validity, the DCT questionnaire versions and the interview questions were examined by a jury of five English professors and three experienced English language lecturers at different universities in Jordan and Britain. Their suggestions and recommendations regarding the clarity of the language used, the sufficiency of the instructions provided, the items expressed in the questionnaires and their relevance to the research objectives (besides their cultural relevance to the real life of both nations) have been taken into consideration. The cultural relevance of these situations to the real life of both nations is necessary because the unfamiliarity or the discomfort of the situations influences the way people express themselves (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986). Language ambiguity of the situations could result in different interpretations and unpredictable answers (Moser and Kalton, 2004).

In addition, the researcher first translated the English version into Arabic which was then back-translated into English to ensure the equivalence of both questionnaire versions. After that, both questionnaire versions were examined by language experts in both languages (Arabic-English bilingual) to linguistically investigate it, and then their modifications were considered as well. Hence, the existing inconsistencies were resolved. Subsequently, the overall validity of the English version was checked by a native speaker (lecturer) through comparing the back-translated English version with the original one.

3.6.1.2 Content Validity

The content validity of the DCT, role-play and interview was substantiated through a pilot study done on a number of students to develop the final discourse completion task (DCT) and the role-play version, as well as the interview questions. Cheng's (2005) pilot study DCT was adopted and piloted. It was conducted to identify any unexpected problems in wording and formatting the

situations, because unclear instructions might result in irrelevant data, and to check its validity to elicit the target data.

The preliminary pilot study consisted of 17 open-ended scenarios varied in: imposition, familiarity and social status (Appendix B). The scenarios were followed by perception-related questions concerning the degree of gratitude, the degree of imposition, the possibility of the scenarios occurring in real life and their personal experience in a similar situation, in addition to a query for further suggestions to ensure the clearness of the situation to the participants. The researcher tried to make the social relationships in all the situations evident to elicit valid data. All 17 scenarios were modified in light of the results of the pilot study and the interviews with Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and English native speakers as well as the researcher's personal experience. The pilot DCT English version was sent to 6 English native students at the University of Jordan, De Montfort University and University of Leicester. The Arabic DCT version was sent to 10 Jordanian postgraduate students at the University of Al-Albayt, Yarmouk University and Philadelphia University. None of the collaborators in the pilot study participated in the original study, but are equivalent to those in the original study in terms of social variables such as ethnicity, educational level, and a few others.

The participants confirmed that the DCT and role-play were designed to reflect various situations and acts besides a variety of social perspectives (different relationship between participants that trigger gratitude expression to ensure an adequate coverage of the communication of gratitude)[54]. They appeared to be clear and valid for investigating the intended communicative act as they are all responded to by using various strategies of the communication of gratitude which revealed no evidence of their confusion or misunderstanding of the DCT situations.

[54] The detailed specifications and identifications of the social and contextual variables spread in the DCT situations are provided in Table C.1 and C.2 (Appendix C).

In terms of the strategies employed, the researcher followed her own data-based coding model which was developed to make possible the description all of the elicited data.

3.6.1.3 Construct Validity

Developing the research instruments was a two-stage process which involved identifying the nature of the instruments as well as determining the contextual variables to be examined. It was supposed that language behaviour is a form of communication that cannot be examined by using a multiple-choice format as such a form would merely test recognition instead of use. Therefore, a free response format was adopted, namely DCT, that has been extensively employed to study different communicative acts, including the expression of gratitude. The study was based on the underlying supposition that communication of gratitude is influenced by socio-cultural variables. These variables were established on grounds independent of the present study. The process of establishing which of these variables would be included in the DCT and role-play resulted in selecting social status (Power), social distance (Familiarity) and the degree of the imposition (Imposition) as the most significant ones, because these variables are culturally sensitive, include all other social variables, and influence communicative act performance, as cross-cultural pragmatics research has established (see Brown and Levinson, 1987: 16; Fraser, 1990: 78; Tatton, 2008: 1; Mirzaei, et al., 2012: 95). Following Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), the same situations concerning the types of favour and the participants' social characteristics were used for both groups to ensure the success of a cross-cultural comparison of communication of gratitude.

Developing the final version of the DCT involved a number of phases. These phases included selecting the most relevant situations to both cultures after omitting the irrelevant ones, comparing the researcher's framework for the specifications of the contextual variables with the participants' framework, analysing the strategies used in light of the newly developed coding scheme, as well as making some modifications regarding the contextual variables in order to

come up with situations varied in a way which reflects clearly the relevant independent variables.

Considering the common scenarios for Jordanian Arabic and English, some contextual variables in some scenarios were modified and some scenarios were removed, either because they were irrelevant to both cultures, or because they were similar to other scenarios such as "accommodation" situation [55] which irrelevant to both English and Arabic context. Regarding the modifications, the names given in the pilot DCT (e.g., Professor C) were substituted by real names (e.g., Professor Cox) in the final developed DCT version to make the situation sound more real. In terms of the contextual variables, low-familiarity in the "recommendation letter" situation was adjusted to high-familiarity. In addition, the equal status in the "direction situation" was changed to lower status. Consequently, 8 out of 17 situations were chosen in the ultimate DCT version (Appendix D). All the selected situations were the most frequent ones that participants may encounter at a university level in both the United Kingdom and Jordan. These eight situations varied on the social and contextual variables including the interlocutor's social status (social power), familiarity (social distance) and the degree of imposition as the significant factors that could influence speech behaviour cross-culturally. The results also showed a higher degree of correspondence between the two specifications frameworks, which in turn corresponds to the final version of the DCT. The gratitude expressions were selected and identified in order to allow for cross-cultural comparison, and hence to clearly identify the perceptions of such contextual and social variables across these two cultures. The pilot study results and suggestions were analysed and considered in developing the final approved DCT situations and the interview questions.

[55] **Accommodation**: You are going to a conference in a large city in two weeks. Your budget is limited, so you try to find a roommate to share the cost of a hotel, but you can't find anyone. An older student (in late 40s) who just graduated from your department is married and lives in that city. The student invites you to stay at his/her house during the conference. Even though you don't know the person very well, you decide to accept this offer. After the conference and before heading back to school, what do you say to this person?

3.6.2 Research reliability

3.6.2.1 The reliability of the pilot study's findings

The reliability of the findings of the pilot study was ensured by co-analysis of the content of the participants' DCT data. The present researcher and the co-analyst (a bilingual linguist, Prof. Abdullah Shakir from Yarmouk University (Jordan) did a preliminary classification of some DCTs' and RPs' responses in light of the coding scheme to ensure agreement between both classifications. The results revealed a great resemblance between the results of both analyses which was considered suitable and sufficient for conducting the original study. The results were found encouraging and warranting further investigation. The preliminary results yielded from the piloted DCT, role-play and interview showed some evidence of cross-cultural differences between the Jordanian and English participants in their realisation and perception of gratitude expression. For example, only Jordanians used *religious formulae in the form of a supplicat*ion (e.g. "جزاك الله كل خير" 'dʒaza:k Allah kul xjr', 'May God reward you (well)' to express gratitude; in addition, they were different from the English participants in their perception of the importance of considering the same social variables in selecting the appropriate expression to convey gratitude. In light of the pilot study's preliminary results, the present study was conducted to provide solid evidence of any cross-cultural differences between Jordan and England in expressing gratitude.

3.6.2.2 The reliability of the original study's findings

The same DCT situations were also used to examine the gratitude expression orally through the role-play method, besides the interview in order to enrich the data further. It is assumed that using more than one method will equip researchers with considerable triangulation which affords many advantages (see section 3.5). In particular, the strengths and weaknesses of the DCT indicate that the DCT (along with other data elicitation methods such as role-play) are appropriate data collection methods when the purpose of the study is investigating the use of

linguistic strategies within particular contexts. Furthermore, reliability can be partly resolved through collecting large amounts of data which has been done in speech act research through DCTs (Houck and Gass, 1999). Furthermore, the findings were confirmed through cross referencing between the findings of the interview and those of the content analysis of the DCT and role-play data.

To ensure that the reliability of the coding scheme and minimise the instrumental errors, the researcher checked and confirmed the new scheme with six English and Arabic native speakers. The overall reliability of the coding scheme was also checked by a bilingual linguist in the field (Prof. Fawwaz Al-abed Al-Haq, Yarmouk University).

After revisions were made, a random sample of 6 role-play transcripts and 6 DCT questionnaires from six participants from both native groups were given to two linguist raters: Prof. Abdullah Shakir form Yarmouk University (Jordan) and Stephen Hind from De Montfort University (United Kingdom) to classify the responses. Working independently, the researcher and the collaborators reached a high level of agreement on coding all responses. This is due to the fact that "units of analysis need[ed] to be non-overlapping" (Ryan and Bernard, 2000: 780) which means that each strategy used should fit in only one category. The coding scheme categories are exhaustive (i.e., all the elicited data are represented in one of the categories identified) (see Section 3.7.1).

3.7 Data collection and analysis procedures

After ensuring the reliability and validity of the research instruments, the research followed the subsequent procedures to collect and analyse data:

Driven by the anticipation that not all the email-distributed DCTs would be completed and the fact that the researcher wanted to apply a within-subject approach (participation mostly in all instruments), a number of the researcher's friends were contacted and they, in turn, undertook to help by recruiting their friends in other universities. The participants were given a few minutes to read and be familiar with the role-play situations. They were given freedom to fill out

the written DCT questionnaire at home at a time of their convenience without a pre-set time limit. However, most participants responded immediately, taking about 12-18 minutes to complete the DCT in the researcher's presence, others completed the DCT outside of the researcher's presence and returned it one or more days after receiving it. Each situation clearly describes the participants, variables and the nature of the favour as it is vital to have a full understanding of the situation. These situations were followed by an incomplete dialogue to be filled in by the respondents of both languages. The participants were asked to imagine themselves in each situation and assume that in each situation they write down what they would say in their native language. The data were collected online and in person by the researcher herself. The participants were provided with enough space to write many thanking expressions if they felt that more than one was appropriate. The scenarios were familiar to students' university life. The DCT consisted of four parts: an introduction to the study, instructions for answering the questions, a section for the participants' demographic information, and then the eight scenarios which require gratitude expression rejoinder. Subjects were asked to sign their informed consent sheet. They then completed the demographic survey.

The DCT and role-play data were first analysed for the sake of creating a coding scheme for classifying all participants' responses. In this code, a 'semantic formula' refers to a word, phrase, or sentence that is used to convey gratitude. For quantitatively and qualitatively analysing the role-play and the DCT, the qualitative data were labelled, categorised, coded, and then entered into the SPSS software programme where both descriptive and statistical analyses were performed. The frequencies and percentages of gratitude strategies as part of the descriptive analysis were calculated in both languages using the Excel program which in turn explicates the respondents' preference of which thanking strategies to use according to which situation. The differences were analysed based on two dependent variables, namely the strategy's number and type. The analysis of the

strategies' frequencies was conducted as follows: (a) the overall frequency of the strategies employed by Native Speakers of Arabic (NSsA) and Native Speakers of English (NSsE) in all situations (b) the frequency of the strategies by NSsA and NSsE across situations, (c) the overall total number of uses of each strategy in all the given situations (d) and total number of uses of each strategy across the situations. Furthermore, inferential statistics were conducted to roll out if there was a significant difference between the groups. In particular, T-test was used for conducting the comparison as there were one variable with two levels (culture; English and Jordanian). The significant differences were rolled out based on the means and standard deviations when the result is equal or less than ($p \leq .05$).

Regarding the qualitative analysis of the interview data, Strauss and Corbin's (1990) open coding qualitative analysis of the interview data was adopted for classifying the 'raw' data into meaningful concepts which were then grouped into relevant categories. This helped reduce the overall number of data units and made the examination and the comparison of the data easier. Following Strauss (1987), the process of coding qualitative data included: open coding, axial coding and selective coding. Open coding involves breaking down the collected data into distinctive parts, trying to discover relevant concepts, identifying categories to reduce the vast array of data into controllable categories. This theory-neutral approach seemed preferable to Miles and Huberman's (1994) method which requires having an already prepared table of categories in light of which the new data is coded, because this increases the likelihood of failing to identify novel relevant concepts that might be evidenced by the newly collected research data. Axial coding involves trying to find linkages among the new labelled categories, thinking about causes and conditions, and combining interdependent concepts into one theme or splitting some concepts into sub-categories. Selective coding includes reviewing the primary themes to discover an overarching theme. This in turn allows comparisons among two or more categories and ends up with certain conclusions. In the present study, this type of coding helped detect any differences in cultures' perceptions of gratitude and the related politeness orientations, as well as trace any differences in the gratitude expression elicited by different pragmatic

research instruments. The statistical analysis was conducted only on the main categories. Statistically analysing the subcategories could result in a huge number of results (figures), which in turn could lead to a difficulty in analysing and handling them. However, the subcategories were thematically analysed.

The data were collated because the same situations were used in both the DCT and role-play and to enable the researcher find out patterns of gratitude expressions and analyse them clearly. This in turn helped to provide a reliable evidence of any cross-cultural similarities or differences which provide a sound basis for relevant generalisations. All the responses collected in the communication event were considered only expressions of gratitude as a response to a favour. This assumption is supported by the fact that the social situations used, which were clearly designed, require the speaker to express gratitude to the hearer. It could also be argued that the instruments used (DCT and Closed role-play) entail that the speakers should only respond using gratitude expressions. If the open role-play had been used, the participants could have produced communicative acts other than gratitude expressions. This is because their rejoinder might be affected by their interlocutors' responses.

The analysis of the data resulted in a new coding scheme consisting of a set of strategies people use to convey gratitude. After all the responses were analysed as exaplined in Section (3.7.1), their frequencies and percentages in Arabic and English were computed using the Excel program as follows:

The frequency of the strategies is calculated by the total number of times a particular strategy was used.

The percentage of the strategies is calculated by the frequency / total number of responses* 100.

3.7.1 The coding scheme of the strategies used for gratitude expression

Adopting an approach similar to Glaser and Strauss's (1967) Constant Comparative Method and considering Eisenstein and Bodman's (1986) finding that expressions of gratitude can be viewed as a communicative act set rather than a single speech act, the present gratitude coding scheme has been developed. The responses showed that gratitude is conveyed both directly and indirectly. The pragmatic/semantic strategies incorporated in each participant's response to each situation were identified based the notions of direct and indirect speech acts which account for direct and indirect communication of gratitude. The concept of underlying speech act is important because it is used as a criterion for coding the utterances for describing communication across cultures. This is due to the fact that cultures institutionalise various aspects of social interaction in ways which are both similar and different as explained in Chapter 2 (Section 2.7). Utterances can be thought of as speech acts that can be identified in terms of locutionary (the basic linguistic act and its ostensible meaning) and illocutionary (their intended purposes/function) and the fact that both of these aspects might not coincide. After establishing what the underlying speech acts are, then the similar utterances/speech acts are subsumed under one category/ strategy as shown in the examples provided below. Tanck (2004) also observes speakers often tend to use more than one distinct speech act as an essential step to achieve the desired overarching communicative purpose. Grice observes that conversations between interlocutors are not just disconnected utterances (speech acts). He differentiates between "what is said" and "what is meant". Grice's notion of implicature indicates that with indirection a single utterance is performing one illocutionary act by way of performing another one: i.e. based on the notion of indirect speech act involved in communication, we assumed that the use of a given strategy in the specified situations (e.g. apology) has been used in order to express gratitude indirectly (as opposed to simply apologise).

According to Fraser and Nolen (1981), a semantic formula may be a word, a phrase, or even a sentence which meets a certain semantic criterion. Strategies are

defined by Brown (1994:104) as “specific methods of approaching a problem or task, modes of operation for achieving a particular end, a planned design for controlling and manipulating certain information". The terms “semantic formula” and “strategy” have been interchangeably used in the cross-cultural pragmatics literature. The term ‘strategy’ is not used in this study as a theoretical term, but as a technical cover term for semantic formulas/speech acts which are used systematically for the purpose of communicating gratitude (whether directly, such as the speech act of thanking, or indirectly, such as the speech act of apologising). This seems more reasonable than relying on words or characters, especially when comparing two markedly different languages. The two languages are not isomorphic. There is no strict word for word correspondence between utterances in English and Arabic, so that the comparative lengths of semantically and pragmatically equivalent utterances in these two languages would provide a poor basis for comparing the complexity of the strategies used to communicate gratitude in the two cultures under consideration. They also have different grammars. What Jordanians can communicate using one word (e.g. ‘'أز عجتك', ‘>azʕadʒtak’), English people communicate using four (‘I have disturbed you’).

Besides expressing simple gratitude using direct words such as “Thank you so much”, both English and Jordanian participants used seven other strategies, namely: appreciation, apology, expression of positive feelings, repayments, recognition of imposition, alerters and other strategies when conveying gratitude. For simplifying the code and the overall analysis, the last category ‘Other strategies’ was devised to include all other inconsistent data (i.e. all the expressions that did not fit in the above mentioned categories and cannot be classified as speech acts). The analysis of the data resulted in a new coding scheme consisting of a set of strategies people use to convey gratitude. More examples of the gratitude expressions are provided in the following sections. For more simplification and clarity of the code, the data were classified into main strategies and sub-strategies. The main strategies are vessels for various expressions (sub-strategies) that could be used interchangeably to perform them explicitly or implicitly. This classification enables us to make generalisations

about the patterns of language use in expressing politeness linguistically (i.e. Jordanians or the English use the same strategies in some situations but not in others). This generalisation would be interesting as it raises the question of why these similarities and differences occur.

Compared to other previous coding systems, the new coding scheme seems similar to Cheng's (2005) coding scheme with some different subcategories that match the data elicited in the present study. In light of the previous coding schemes, this new classification seems the clearest, simplest, most well-defined way to represent the strategies of the communication of gratitude, the most suitable as all the responses fitted under its classifications, and the easiest way to compare two distinct languages and cultures. It can be said that the main categories can be applicable in both languages, but the sub-categories may vary in availability cross-culturally.

The present coding scheme includes real examples of the gratitude expression by both Arabic and English native speakers presented under each code for the sake of clarity. Due to the fact that English and Arabic are different languages and cultures, it is possible that each language has some unique strategic properties. Thus, the strategies categories and subcategories are mentioned here to explain and classify the data elicited in this study from both the DCT and the role-play from both groups. Though the Arabic gratitude expressions were transcribed and translated into English, the primary analysis was done based on the Arabic transcripts, not the English translations. Examples of each gratitude expression strategy used in the role-plays and the DCT are presented followed by the situation in which it appeared for both groups. In order to be systematic and consistent, the strategies have been transliterated following International Phonetic

Association (IPA) system[56] (Table E.1, Appendix E). The following is the new coding scheme including the main categories, the sub-categories, the subjects, examples of the strategies elicited for expressing gratitude, transliteration of the strategies as well as the situations:

❖ Thanking

There are four subcategories in the thanking strategy: (a) using the English word "thank" or the Arabic word "شكرا" 'ʃukran', 'thank' only (bare thanking) (b) expressing thanking and stating the favour (c) expressing thanking and mentioning the imposition caused by the favour (d) expressing inability to express thanking.

A. Using the English word "thank" or Arabic word "شكرا", 'ʃukran', ***'thank' only (bare thanking).***

English

"Many thanks" **(Class notes)**

"Thank you very much indeed" **(Paper Extension)**

Arabic

"شكرا لك جزيلا", 'ʃukran lak dʒazi:lan', 'Thank you very much.' **(Recommendation letter)**

"اشكرك من اعماق قَلبي" '>aʃkuruk min >ʕma:q qalbi:', 'I thank you from the bottom of my heart' **(booking a hotel)**

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[56] The IPA is a widely recognised alphabetic system of phonetic notation devised as a standardised representation of the sounds of oral language.

B. Expressing thanking and stating the favour

English

"Thank you so much for your assistance" **(Direction)**

"Thank you very much for the reservation" (**Booking a hotel)**

Arabic

"شكرا لك كثيرا على خدمتك", 'ʃukran lak kaθi:ran ʕala: xidmatik', 'Thank you very much for your service.' **(Computer)**

"شكرا جزيلا لتقديرك وضعي الخاص" 'ʃukran dʒazi:lan litaqdi:rik wadʕi: alxa:sˁ', 'Thanks very much for your recognition of my own situation.' (**Paper extension)**

C. Expressing thanking and mentioning the imposition caused by the favour

English

"Thank you for paying for the whole group" **(In a restaurant)**

"Thank you very much for taking that long amount of time to fix my computer" **(Computer)**

Arabic

"شكرا لك جزيلا على الوقت الاضافي في كتَابة رسالَة التَوصية و ارسالها عن طريق فيديكس", 'ʃukran lak dʒazi:lan ʕala: alwaqit alidˁafi: fi: kita:bat risa:lat altawsjah wa <rasa:liha ʕan tˁari:q fi:di:ks', '*Thank you very much for the extra time for writing the reference letter and sending it by FedEx'* **(FedEx)**

"شكرا لك كثيرا على الجهد الذي بذَلته في تصليحِ الحاسوب", 'ʃukran lak kaθi:ran ʕala: aldʒuhd alaði: baðaltahu fi: tasˁli:ħ alħa:su:b', ' Many thanks for the effort you spent in fixing my computer' **(Computer)**

D. Expressing an inability to express thanking

English

“I can’t thank you enough” **“Computer”**

Arabic

“لا أَعرف كيف أَشكرك حقّ الشكر” ‘La: >ʕrif kajf >aʃkuruk ħaqqa alʃukr’, ‘I can’t thank you enough’ **(Recommendation letter)**

"أنا حقّا عاجز عن شكرك على هذه الدعوه الجميلة" ‘>ana: ħaqqan ʕa:dʒiz ʕan ʃukrik ʕala: haðihi aldʕwah aldʒami:lah’, ‘I am really unable to thank you for this lovely invitation’. **(In a restaurant)**

❖ Appreciation

The appreciation strategy consists of four subcategories: (a) expressing appreciation only (bare appreciation) (b) expressing appreciation and explicitly stating the favour (c) expressing appreciation and mentioning the imposition caused by the favour (d) appreciation and stating the reason.

A. Expressing bare appreciation

English

“I appreciate it” **(Booking a hotel)**

“I greatly appreciate that” **(Computer)**

Arabic

"أقدر لَك عاليا" ‘>uqadir lak ʕa:liyan’, ‘I highly appreciate for you’ **(Computer)** “أقدر لَك كَثيرا” ‘>uqadir lak kaθi:ran’, ‘I greatly appreciate it for you’ **(Recommendation letter)**

B. Expressing appreciation and explicitly stating the favour.

English

"Your efforts are much appreciated" (**Computer)**

"I really appreciate your kindness" **(FedEx)**

Arabic

" أقدر لك عاليا معروفك " '>uqadir lak ʕa:liyan maʕru:fak', 'I highly appreciate your favour**'.(Booking a hotel)**

" أقدر لك جزيلا مساعدتك و خدمتك " '>uqadir lak dʒazi:lan musa:ʕadatak wa xidmatik', 'I appreciate your help and service very much**'(Recommendation letter)**

C. Expressing appreciation and mentioning the imposition caused by the favour

English

"I appreciate your great efforts for fixing my computer" **(Computer)**

"I greatly appreciate the time you spent in fixing my computer" **(Computer)**

Arabic

"أقدر لَك مساعدتك على الرغمِ من كونك مشغول" '>uqadir lak musa:ʕadatak ʕala: alraɣim min kwnik maʃɣu:l", "I appreciate your help though you were busy', 'I appreciate your help though you were busy' **(Computer)**

" أقدر لك مجهودك لتصليح الحاسوب الخاص بي " , '>uqadir lak madʒhudak litasʕli:ħ alħa:su:b alxa:sʕ' bi:", ' I appreciate our efforts for fixing my computer', 'I appreciate our efforts for fixing my computer' **(Computer)**

D. Appreciation and stating the reason

English

“I appreciate it so much as I was really in need of it” **(Recommendation letter)**

Arabic

"أقدر لك مساعدتك التي كنت بحاجة ماسّة لها" ‘>uqadir lak musa:ʕadatak alati: kuntu biħadʒah massah laha’, ‘ I appreciate your help which I badly needed’**(FedEx)**

- **Expressing positive feelings**

The positive feelings strategy consists of four subcategories: (a) expressing a positive reaction to the favour giver (compliment) (b) expressing a positive reaction to the favour giver on the object of the favour (compliment) (c) expressing a positive reaction to the outcome of the favour (d) expressing an inability to articulate positive deep feelings.

A. Expressing a positive reaction to the favour giver:

English

“I knew I could count on you” **(Recommendation letter)**

“That’s a nice gesture from you” **(In a Restaurant)**

Arabic

‘’ممنون جدا لتَعاونك‘’ ‘mamnu:n dʒidan li taʕa:wnik’, ‘I am very grateful for your cooperation**’(computer)**

“فقد غمرتني بلطفك و بمعروفك هذا”, ‘faqad ɣamartani: bilutfik wa bimaʕru:fik haða:’, ’you overwhelmed me by your kindness and favour’ **(FedEx)**

English

"That was a great help." **(Computer)**

"That was really useful for the booking." (**Booking a hotel)**

Arabic

"حقا إن ملاحظاتك واضحة و مفيدة" 'ħaqqan <nna mula:ħaðˤa:tik wa:dˤiħah wa mufi:dah', 'Really your notes are clear and useful.' **(Class notes)**

"كلمات رسالة التوصيه رائعه جدا", 'kalima:t risa:lat altawsjah ra:'ʕah dʒidan', 'The recommendations letter's words are extremely wonderful.' **(Recommendation letter).**

B. Expressing a positive reaction to the outcome of the favour

English

"I really felt that the extension helped me to write the best paper I could."(**Paper extension)**

"This will help me with my future career." (**Recommendation letter)**

Arabic

"أنا متأكد أنها ستَكون مساعدة كبِيرة إذَا حصلت على المنحة" '>ana: mut>akid >annaha: sataku:n musa:ʕadah kabi:rah <ða ħasalt ʕala: alminħah', 'I'm sure it will be a big help if I get the fellowship' **(FedEx)**

"لقد أسهمت في أن أحرز درجة جيدة في امتحاناتي" 'laqad ashamt fi: >an >uħriza daradʒah dʒjdah fi: <imtiħanati:, 'You contributed to me to get a good mark in my exams' **(Paper extension)**

C. Expressing an inability to articulate positive deep feelings

Arabic

"عاجز عن التعبير عن فرحتي" 'ʕa:dʒiz ʕan altʕbi:r ʕan farħati:' (FedEx). ' I am unable to express my happiness'.

"لا اعرف ماذا اقول لك" 'la: >aʕrif ma:ða aqu:l lak' "I do not know what to say to you" **(Computer)**

"عاجز عن التعبير عن امتناني تجاه معروفك" 'ʕa:dʒiz ʕan altʕbi:r ʕan <imtinani: tidʒah maʕru:fak', 'I cannot express my gratitude for your favour' **(Computer)**

❖ Apology

Five subcategories are included in the apology strategy: (a) expressing apology using apologising words (b) expressing apology using apologising words and explicitly stating the favour or reason (c) expressing apology using apologising words and mentioning the imposition caused by the favour (d) expressing apology by expressing embarrassment (f) criticising or blaming oneself.

A. Expressing apology using apologising words

English

"I'm very sorry" (**Computer)**

"I do apologise" **(FedEx)**

Arabic

"أنا آسف" '>ana: a:sif' ,'I am sorry" **(Direction)**

" أعتذر كثيرا " '>aʕtaðir kaθi:ran', 'I apologise very much' **(FedEx)**

B. Expressing apology using apologising and stating the favour or the reason

English

"I'm sorry for the short notice" **(FedEx)**

"I'm sorry I had to ask for the extension". **(Paper extension**)

Arabic

"وعذرا مرّة أُخرى على التأخير" 'wʕuðran marrah >uxra: ʕala: at>xi:r' and sorry once again for the delay' **(Paper Extension)**

"أعتذر عن إخبارك متأخرا" **'**>aʕtaðir ʕan <ixba:rik mut>axiran"**,'**I am sorry for telling you late" **(FedEx)**

C. Expressing apology using apologising words and mentioning the imposition caused by the favour

English

"I'm really sorry for taking up so much of your time" **(Computer)**

"I am sorry for any inconvenience" **(FedEx)**

Arabic

"عذْرا لتعطيلك عن عملك" 'ʕuðran litʕtˁilik ʕan ʕamalik','Sorry for disturbing you from your work' **(Computer)**

"ارجو ان تسامحني على اي احراجا سببته لك" '>ardʒu: an tusamiħani: ʕala: >aj <ħradʒ sababtuh lak', 'I beg your forgiveness for any embarrassment I caused you' **(Paper extension)**

D. Expressing apology by expressing embarrassment

English

"I really feel embarrassed" **(Computer)**

Arabic

"إنه شيء محرج جدا" '<inahu ʃaj} muħridʒ dʒidan', 'It is a very embarrassing thing'**(computer)**

"أخجلتنا بكرمك" '>axdʒaltana: bikaramik', "you embarrassed us by your generosity"(**FedEx)**

E. Criticising or blaming oneself

English

"I should not have asked you to do it" **(Computer)**

"I should not have accepted that" **(In a restaurant)**

Arabic

"ما كان يجب علي أن أطلبك أن تصلح الحاسوب" 'ma: ka:n jadʒib ʕalj >an >atˁlubak >an tu sˁ lih alħa:su:b' , 'I should not have asked you to fix the computer' **(Computer).**

"انها غلطتي " '<inaha ɣaltˁati:', 'It is my mistake' (**paper extention)**

- **Recognition of Imposition**

There are four subcategories in this strategy: (a) by acknowledging the actual imposition (b) by acknowledging the imposition and by stating the reason and the need for the favour (c) by diminishing the need for the favour/ the lack of necessity, (d) stating interlocutor's non-existent obligation.

A. Acknowledging the actual imposition

English

"I imagine that you are very busy with your own work" (**Computer)**

"I realise that was a very hard decision as it was not fair for me to get the extension when they did not."**(Paper extension)**

Arabic

"اعلم انني اخذت جزء كبير من وقتك" '>aʕlam >annani: >xaðt dʒuz'an kabi:r min waqtik', 'I know that I have taken a lot of your time.**' (FedEx)**

"أعلم أنني اشغلتك معي" '>aʕlam >anani: >aʃɣaltuk maʕi:' , 'I know that I busied you with me.' (**booking a hotel)**

B. Acknowledging the imposition by stating the reason and the need for the favour.

English

"If you had not helped me, I would have probably struggled otherwise." **(Booking a hotel)**

"I don't know what I would have done without your help." **(Computer).**

Arabic

"ولكنني لا أستغني عن الحاسوب " 'wlakinnani: la >astaɣni: ʕan alħa:su:b', 'I can't dispense my computer' **(Computer)**

"لا أ عرف ماذَا كنت سأفعل من دونك " 'la: >ʕrif ma:ða kunt s>afʕal min du:nik', 'I don't know what I would have done without you.' **(Booking a hotel)**

C. Diminishing the need for the favour/ the lack of necessity

English

"You really shouldn't have bothered." (**In a Restaurant)**

"You didn't have to do that." (**Computer)**

Arabic

"مَا كَان يجب عليك أَن تزعج نفسك" 'ma: ka:n jadʒib ʕaljk >an tuzʕidʒ nafsak', 'you should not have disturbed yourself.' **(FedEx)**

"لم يكن لذلك اي داع," 'lam jakun liða:lik >aj, daʕi:', 'There was no need for that' **(In a Restaurant)**

D. Stating interlocutor's non-existent imposition

English

"I wouldn't have asked you if I knew it was going to take this long." **(Computer)**

Arabic

"لم أكن أنوي إزعاجك" 'lam >akun >anwi: <izʕadʒak', 'Thank you but I did not intend to disturb you.'**(FedEx)**

"لم أكن أعلم أنها ستستغرق زمنا طويلا" 'lam >akun >aʕlam >annaha: satstaɣriq zamanan tʕawi:lan', 'I did not know it would take a long time.'(**Computer).**

- **Offering repayment**

This strategy consists of four subcategories: (a) offering or promising to reciprocate help, service, money, food (b) indicating his/her indebtedness (c) promising future self-restraint or self-improvement/ confirming interlocutor's commitment)(d) indicating inability to repay enough

A. Offering or promising to reciprocate help, service, money, food

English

"I will certainly have to pay the bill next time we eat together." (**In a Restaurant)**

"I would like to reimburse you for the FedEx costs." **(FedEx)**

Arabic

"أدعوك على وليمة" '>adʕu:k ʕala: wali:mah' ,'I am inviting you to a feast.' **(FedEx)**

"اذا اردت اي شئ من هناك فأنا مستعد لجلبه لك مهما كان" '<iða: >aradt >aj ʃaj} min huna:k f>ana: mustaʕid lidʒalbihi lak mahma: ka:n', 'if you ever need anything from there, I am ready to bring it whatever it is' **(Booking a hotel)**

B. Indicating indebtedness

English

"I certainly owe you a favour." **(Computer)**

"I owe you one." **(Class notes)**

Arabic

"انا مدين لك بحياتي" '>ana: madi:nun lak biħaja:ti:', 'I owe you my life.' **(FedEx)**

"أنا مدين لك لمساعتك" '>ana: madi:nun lak limusaʕadatak', 'I am really indebted to you for your help .' **(Computer)**

C. *Promising future self-restraint or self-improvement and confirming interlocutor's commitment*

English

"I'll make sure I meet deadlines in the future." **Paper Extension)**

"I will try to manage my time next time." **(Paper Extension)**

Arabic

"أوعدك أن لَن يتكَرر ذلك أبدا" '>awʕiduk >an lan jatakrar ða:lik >abadn', ' I promise you this will not happen ever again.' **(Paper Extension)**

"لن أنسى صنيعك هذا ما حييت" 'lan >ansa: sʿani:ʕak haða: ma: ħaji:t', 'I will never ever forget your favor all my life'(**FedEx)**

D. Indicating inability to repay enough

Arabic

"مهما نقدم فلن نوفيك حقك", 'mahma: nuqadim falan nu:fi:k haqqak', 'Whatever we do, we cannot repay you enough' **(FedEx).**

"مهما نفعل فلن نقدرعلى رد معروفك" 'mahma: nafʕal falan naqidr ʕala: rad mʕru:fik', 'whatever we do, we will not be able to repay you'.**(Computer)**

❖ **Other strategies**

This strategy includes all the expressions that don't fit in the above mentioned categories. It consists of six subcategories: (a) here statement (b) Initiating small talk, (c) leave-taking (d) expressing a desire an intent to maintain a relationship (e) joking (f) *religious formulae in the form of blessings and supplications*.

A. Here Statement

English

"Here you are!" **(Class notes)**

"Here're your notes from last week." (**Class notes)**

Arabic

"تفضل" 'tafadˤdˤal', 'Here you are!' **(Class notes)**

"تفضل دفتر ملاحظاتك" " 'tafadˤdˤal' daftar mula:ħaðˤa:tuk', 'Here is your notebook'

B. Initiating small talk[57]

English

"I've taken a copy." **(Class notes)**

"I don't know how I will communicate with the hotel staff whilst I'm there." **(Booking a hotel)**

Arabic

" كَثيرا ما أَراك دكْتور في الجامعة" kaθi:ran ma: >ara:k Duktu:r fi: aldʒa:miʕah', 'Many time I saw you doctor in the university.'**(Direction)**

. "واتمنى ان احصل على البعثة" 'w>atamana: >an aħsul ʕala: albʕθah', 'I wish I will get the scholarship.' **(FexEx)**

[57] The participants indicated that initiating small talk enabled them to spend some time with the thankee to give a reason for asking for a favour which in turn helped them show more consideration for and express deeper gratitude to the thankee. The function of small talk is to establish and maintain a positive social atmosphere. Therefore, it stands to reason that small talk should lend itself to introducing a context in which gratitude can be expressed in a way which makes the speaker seem more sincere. The participants in your research felt that without a properly established shared set of context in which the expression of gratitude can be interpreted, it might come across as superficial and insincere.

C. Leave-taking[58]

English

"Have a good day." **(class notes)**

"See you soon!" **(Direction)**

Arabic

"مساؤك سعيد " 'masa&uk saʕi:d' , 'good evening'**(Booking a hotel)**

"في أمان الله", 'fi: >aman Allah', 'In God's safety' **(Direction)**

D. Expressing a desire (an intent to maintain a relationship)

English

"I hope to see you in the university again soon" **(Direction)**

"See you back at the university!" **(Direction)**

Arabic

"يشرفنا ان نتعرف عليك." 'juʃarifuna: >an natʕraf ʕalj:k', 'I will be honoured to know you.'**(Direction)**

[58] The participants indicated that using the appropriate leave-taking strategy could affirm their degree of appreciation (i.e. wishing them something good such as having a good day). People expect other people to be consistent in what they communicate. The aim of leave taking talk is often to ensure that the participants take affirm that they have ended the conversation/meeting on good terms. In this way they also prepare the ground for good communication in the future. By using the appropriate leave strategy after expressing gratitude the speaker provides additional evidence that they were genuinely grateful. And conversely, if an expression of gratitude is followed by leave taking talk which is superficial and very brief, this may be taken by the hearer as evidence that the expression of gratitude was less sincere than it may initially have seemed to be, because superficial leave taking talk is likely to be perceived as inconsistent with sincerely felt and expressed gratitude.

"وليكن هذا الموقف بداية لصداقة حميمة بيننا" , 'wa ljakun haða: almawqif bidajah li sˁadaqah ħami:mah bjnana' , 'Let this occasion be the beginning of warm friendship between us.' (**Booking a hotel)**

E. Joking[59]

English

"That was very naughty of you" **(In a restaurant)**

Arabic

"هذه ضريبة الصحبة" 'haðihi dˁari:bat asˁuħbah', 'This is a tax for having friendship'**. (In a restaurant)**

F. Religious formulae in the form of blessings and supplications

Arabic

"بارك الله فيك" , 'ba:rak Allah fi:k', 'May God bless you and give you a thousand of health' **(Recommendation letter, FedEx)**

"جزاك الله كل خير" 'dʒaza:k Allah kul xjr', 'May God reward you (well)' **(In a restaurant)/ (FedEx)**

- **Alerters**

[59] Thanking among friends usually tends to be informal. The participants considered using jokes to indicate that they were expressing gratitude to very close friends. A personal joke is evidence of the speaker's confidence that the hearer will interpret it as a joke, i.e. as non-serious. Therefore, by jokingly expressing gratitude, the speaker implicates strongly his or her belief in the closeness between him/her and the hearer, strengthening the general assumptions about the relationship between close friends in relation to doing favours for each other (e.g. that favours will be reciprocated, that willingness to help each other can be taken for granted, etc.)

An alerter is an element such as attention getter or an address term (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989) besides terms of endearment and naming strategies (Lorenzo-Dus, and Bou-Franch, 2003). They are used prior to the real speech act and constitute the opening move of the interaction to attract the hearer's attention and mark the move from a state of non-talk to a state of talk as well as indicating an interpersonal relationship. Therefore, they may characterise the first contact between co-participants and which in turn makes them a rich site for interpersonal rapport. This strategy consists of three categories: (a) attention getter, (b) stating terms of addresses (title, and (c) stating the person's name. Instances of these subcategories are given below:

A. Attention getter

English

"Wow!" **(FedEx)**

"By the way" **(Direction)**

Arabic

"السّلام عليكم" , ʻassala:mu ʕaljkum', " Pease be upon you, Hello" **(Paper extension)**

"مرحبا " 'Marħaba" 'Hello' **(Direction)**

B. Stating the person's name

English

"Smith" **(FedEx)**

"Barwick" **(Recommendation letter)**

Arabic

“كوكس” ‘Kuks’, ‘Cox’ **(Paper extension)**

“سميث” ‘Smiθ’, ‘smith’ **(Recommendation letter)**

C. Stating terms of address/ title

English

“Sir” **(computer)**

“Mate” **(Class Notes)**

Arabic

“دكتور” ‘Duktu:r’, ‘Doctor’ (**Recommendation letter)**

“ أُستاذي الفاضل " ‘>usta:ðiː alfa:dˤil’, ‘my moralist teacher’ **(FedEx)**

3.7.2 Number of strategies

Expressing gratitude can be performed using several strategies. Consequently, the participant’s response to a particular situation may consist of more than one strategy. In light of the previous literature (Section 2.2.2), studying the number of strategies is very significant as using several strategies reflects the impact of social and contextual variables and may extend the elaboration which in turn enhances the degree of gratitude. The present study considered the number of gratitude expression strategies used in a particular situation rather than the number of words due to dealing with markedly different cultures and languages. The number of each strategy is counted to know whether there is a significant difference between NSsA and NSsE revealing any impact of the social status, degree of imposition and familiarity on the thanking speech act performance.

3.8 Chapter summary

This chapter provides a detailed description of the participants, present study design and the methodology adopted in this study. Various data-collection methods (e.g. DCT, role-play and a semi-structured interview, etc.) employed in the cross-cultural and intercultural pragmatic field are discussed highlighting their advantages and disadvantages. The rationale behind selecting a mixed methodology of DCT, role-play and a semi-structured interview) is explicitly illustrated. Driven by the need to have a research instrument which suits the research aims and allows explaining cross-cultural variation in the realisation and perception of gratitude reasonably adequately, DCT, role-play as well as interview were selected in this study. In particular, DCT and role-play would facilitate collecting large and comparable data, whereas the interview is likely to provide us with more in-depth data regarding people's perceptions of gratitude and its related politeness features. As recommended by Greene et.al. (2005), using the multiple-method approach is expected to improve the validity and credibility of the research. Moreover, information on the process of achieving the validity and reliability of the study are also illustrated including the way the pilot study was conducted and its contribution to the design of the final DCT and interview questions. This is followed by a description of the data collection procedures and analysis method, in particular, a description of both the quantitative and qualitative techniques for analysing the data. The coding scheme used in the present study for classifying gratitude expression strategies is also described in detail providing examples from the original data elicited. In the remainder of the chapter, the dependent variable (the number of strategies) is clarified and justified. The results will be considered in the next chapter.

Chapter Four: Findings of the Study

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study concerning the perception and realisation patterns of the communication of gratitude across the cultures of England and Jordan, and the differences in the data elicited by the pragmatic research instruments (DCT and role-play). The data collected from the English and Jordanian participants were analysed specifically in terms of the number and types of the strategy used when expressing gratitude. These were evaluated thematically and statistically and interpreted on the basis of T-test. The measure of significance employed in this study is ($p \leq .05$). In other words, if the p-value is less than or equal to the alpha ($p \leq .05$), then the null hypothesis is rejected and we conclude that the result is statistically significant. Otherwise, we conclude that the result is statistically not significant and the null hypothesis cannot be rejected.

The way the data of each research question was collected and analysed is also clarified. While graphs are presented for illustration, the exact figures found are tabulated. Appendix (F) represents the exact figures for the comparison of both native groups, whereas the exact figures for the comparison of both research instruments are given in Appendix (G).

The findings of this study are displayed in the order of the research questions as presented in Chapter One to preserve the coherence and consistency throughout the thesis.

1. Are there any differences in the communication of gratitude between Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of English in

respect of the use of different numbers and types of strategy used for expressing gratitude?

Null hypotheses

H_0 1.1: Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of English do not significantly use different numbers of strategies when expressing gratitude.

H_0 1.2: Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of English do not significantly use different types of strategy for expressing gratitude.

2- How and to what extent are the data gleaned from DCTs different from those obtained by using role-plays?

3- Do Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of English perceive the communication of gratitude in different ways?

Section 4.2 presents the findings concerning the realisation of the communication of gratitude in Jordan and England in terms of the overall number and types of strategy used in all situations and in each situation separately. The differences between the data gleaned from DCTs and role-plays are presented in Section 4.3. Finally, the perception of the communication of gratitude and its related politeness connotations in Jordan and England are illustrated in Section 4.4.

4.2 Are there any differences in the communication of gratitude between Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of English in respect of the use of different numbers and types of strategy used for expressing gratitude

This section explores the linguistic communication of gratitude from a cross-cultural angle comparing its realisations in the cultures of Jordan and England. As mentioned in Chapter 3 (Section 3.2), the data related to this question were elicited from only DCTs and role-plays collected from 46 Jordanian and 46 English participants. In particular, 30 Jordanian and 30 English students participated in both the DCT and role-play and 16 Jordanian and 16 English students participated in the DCT only. The analysis of the data is conducted on the

data collected from both role-plays and DCTs as a whole and is supported by another analysis of the same data yielded by both instruments separately (Appendix F. Tables F.1-F.8).

The analysis conducted on the data collected from both role-plays and DCTs as a whole is presented in Section 4.2, while the differences in the data gleaned from both research instruments will be further illustrated in (Section 4.3). This is done for the sake of clarity and simplicity of presentation and in order not to lose focus, since this section aims to identify the similarities and differences between the two cultures regarding the number and type of strategy used to convey gratitude.

4.2.1 H_0 1.1: Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of English do not significantly use different numbers of strategies when expressing gratitude

In light of the previous literature (Section 2.2.2), studying the number of strategies is pragmatically interesting, as using several strategies may extend the elaboration which in turn enhances the degree of gratitude conveyed. Moreover, other researchers indicate that using various strategies reflects the impact of social and contextual variables. The present study considered the number of gratitude expression strategies used in a particular situation rather than the number of words due to dealing with markedly different cultures and languages. The number of strategies was counted in all situations as a whole, as presented in Section 4.2.1.1 and for each situation separately, as presented in Section 4.2.1.2.

4.2.1.1 The overall number of strategies in social situations

The frequency of all of the strategies used for expressing gratitude in all situations is shown in Figure (4.1). The frequency values show how many times a given strategy has been used. It is clear from Figure 4.1 that the number of strategies used by Jordanians is higher than that used by the English when expressing gratitude. T-test analysis reveals a significant difference in the number of the strategies used for the communication of gratitude by NSsA and NSsE in all

situations. Overall, Jordanians used significantly more strategies when expressing gratitude for the favour given, as shown in Table F.9 (Appendix F). The p-value (.005) is less than (α 0.05), so the null hypothesis which states that Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of English do not significantly use different numbers of strategies when expressing gratitude has been refuted.

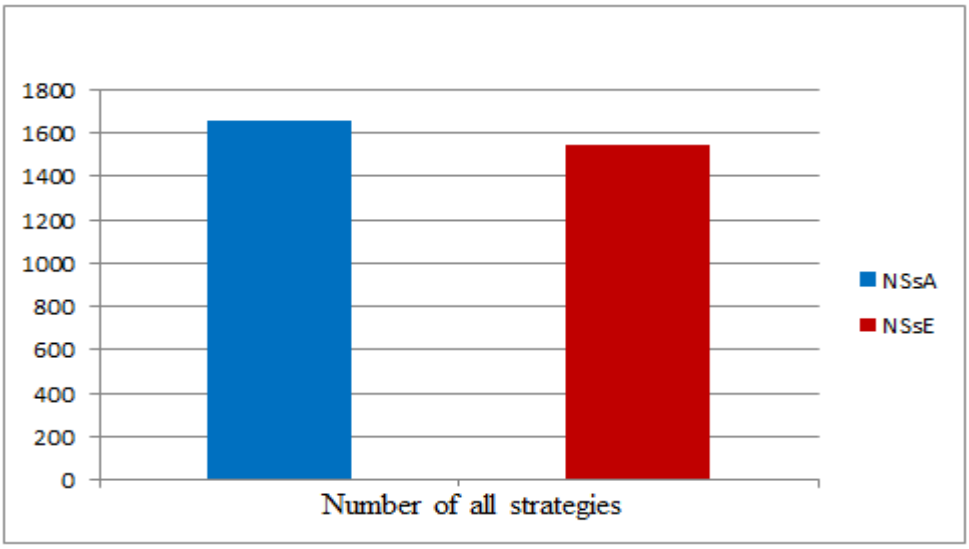

Figure 4. 1: Overall frequency of all strategies for NSsA and NSsE in all situations

4.2.1.2 Number of strategies across social situations

In order to investigate the impact of the social situation (including various social and contextual variables) on the production of the gratitude expression, the frequency of strategies used in each situation by both groups was calculated. Figure 4.2 shows the number of strategies used by English and Jordanian participants across the social situations. As shown in Figure 4.2, the number of gratitude expressions varies from one situation to another for both groups. Jordanians used the least number of strategies in *class notes, giving directions, in a restaurant, and booking a hotel* situations and the highest number of strategies was in *FedEx, computer, paper extension, and recommendation letter* situations. The English used the least number of strategies in situations: *giving directions,*

recommendation letter, class notes and booking a hotel, and the highest number of strategies in situations *computer, FedEx, paper extension, in a restaurant.*

T-test results in Table F.10 (Appendix F) show that both groups significantly differ in the number of strategies used in three situations only: *recommendation letter, FedEx and giving directions*. The Jordanian participants used a greater number of strategies in these situations more often than the English participants did. The p-value of all of these situations was found to be less than (α 0.05), the recommendation letter (p. 002), FedEx (p. 001) and *giving directions* (p. 000).

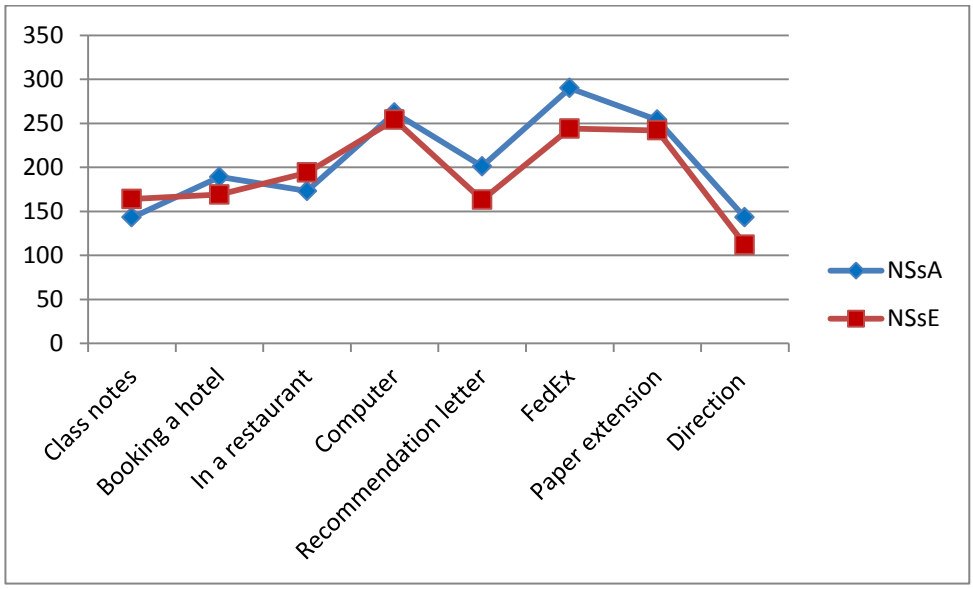

Figure 4. 2: Frequency of strategies of gratitude expression across the social situations for NSsA and NSsE

4.2.2 H_0 1.2: Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of English do not significantly use different types of strategy for expressing gratitude

4.2.2.1 Types of strategy in all social situations

The overall distribution of the percentages and frequencies of the types of gratitude expression strategy is shown in Figure 4.3 and Table F.11 (Appendix F) respectively. Regardless of the culture, expressing explicit thanking appears to be

the preferred strategy. Though both groups tended to resort to the most commonly used gratitude strategy expressions, namely "Thank you" "شكرا لك" ʃukran lak', the frequency and the percentage of the overall use of *thanking* strategy in all situations were higher for the English than Jordanians.

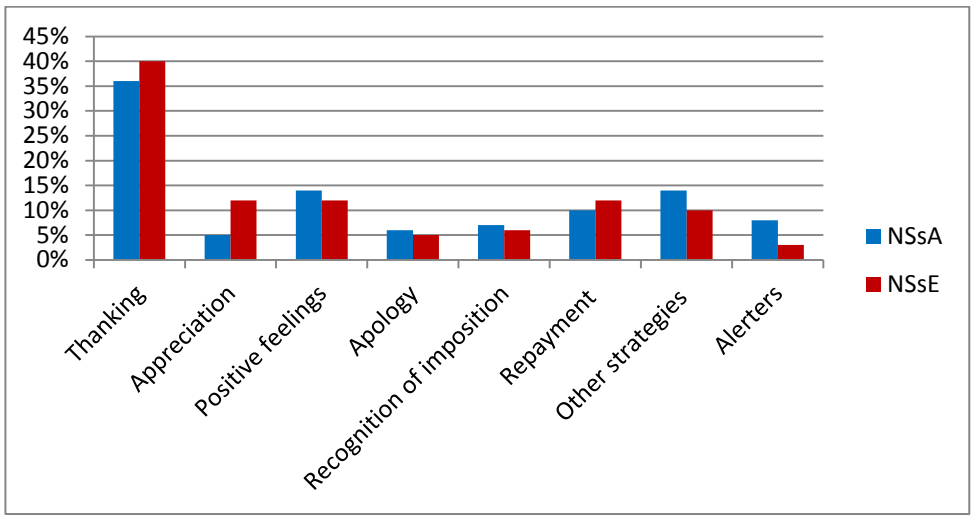

Figure 4. 3: Percentages of each strategy used in all social situations by NSsA and NSsE

The frequencies of the other types of strategy for both groups show that Jordanians prefer using a wider variety of strategies than the English participants. The overall distribution of gratitude strategies for Jordanians shows their tendency to use *thanking (*"شكرا جزيلا لتوفيرك الكثير من وقتي و جهدي", 'ʃukran lak dʒazi:lan litawfi:rik alkaθi:r min waqti: wa dʒuhdi:', 'Thank you very much for sparing a lot of my time and effort'), *other strategies (e.g. religious formulae in the form of a supplication* "يسر الله أ مرك", 'jassar Allah >amrak',' May Allah ease your affair'), *expressing a desire to maintain a relationship* ("معرفتك شرف كبير لنا", 'maʕriftak ʃaraf kabi:r lana:', 'Knowing you is a great honour for us'), *positive feeling* ("هذا لطف و كرم منك" , 'haða: lutf wa karam minnak', 'This is kindness and generosity from you'), *repayment ("* انا مستعد لاي خدمه تحتاجها", '>ana: mustaʕid l>aj xidmah taħtadʒuha:', 'I am ready for any service you need'), *alerters (e.g. titles and names* "دكتور باروك", 'Duktu:r Ba:rwik', 'Doctor Barwick'), *recognition of imposition (*"لم أكن أنوي تعطيلك عن عملك", 'lam >akun >anwi: taʕti:lak ʕan ʕamalik', 'I did not intend to distract you from your work'), *apology (* "أنا محرج منك لدرجه كبيره" '>ana: muħradʒ mink lidaradʒah kabi:rah','I am embarrassed of you to a

large degree') and *appreciation(* " أقدر لك عاليا " , '>uqadir lak ʕa:liyan', 'I highly appreciate it for you') respectively. *Appreciation* appears to be the least preferred strategy for Jordanians to use when expressing gratitude with a percentage of (5%).

The graph reveals the English participants' preference for using *thanking* "Thank you very", *repayment* "let me give you my share of the money"*, appreciation "*I really appreciate that", *positive feeling "*This will help me a lot", "I am very pleased that you could have done this for me", *other strategies (e.g. here statement "*I have got your notes here", *leave-taking* "Have a good day", *initiating small talk* "I've taken a copy of your notes"), *recognition of imposition* "I realise I put you in a difficult situation", *apology* "I am really sorry for that", and *alerts* (e.g. *names*, "Smith" respectively. The graph shows that the least preferred strategy for English is *alerters* with a percentage of (3%).

The variation in the use of these strategies by both groups is further illustrated by the subcategories illustrated in (Section 3.7.1). The *thanking* strategy was the most frequent strategy used by both groups. Compared to the English participants who prefer using simple thanking "Thank you so much", Jordanians used the more elaborate thanking strategies, such as expressing *thanking and mentioning the imposition caused by the favour* ("شكرا لك على الجهد الذي بذلته لإرسال الرسالة قبل المحدد الموعد", ʃukran lak ʕala: aldʒuhd alaði: baðaltahu li<rasa:l alrisa:lah qabl almwʕid almuħadad', 'Thank you for the effort you made to send the letter before the deadline') and expressing *the inability to thank enough* ("أنا حقّا عاجز عن شكرك", '>ana: ħaqqan ʕa:dʒiz ʕan ʃukrik', 'I am really unable to thank you'). With reference to the *positive feelings* strategy, English participants preferred *complimenting the favour and its giver* "It is extremely kind of you to look at the computer" and "The notes were very helpful". The Jordanians used *the inability to articulate positive deep feelings* ("عاجز عن التعبير عن امتناني تجاه معروفك", 'ʕa:dʒiz ʕan altʕbi:r ʕan <imtinani: tidʒah maʕru:fik', 'I am unable to express my gratitude to you for your favour') and *complimenting the favour giver* ("هذا من طيب اصلك", 'haða: min ti:b asʕlik', 'This is of your good pedigree'). Compared to

the English participants, Jordanians used *other strategies* more, e.g. *religious formulae in the form of a supplication (*"الله يطول عمرك", 'Allah jutawl ʕumrak', 'May Allah make you live longer'), *small talk* ("هل تتوقع ان تكون الرحله جميله ؟" 'hal tatawqaʕ <an taku:n alriħlah dʒami:lah', 'Do you expect the trip to be nice') and *expression of intent to maintain a relationship* ("سازورك في مكتبك في الجامعه قريب", 's>azu:rak fi: maktabak fi: aldʒamiʕah qari:b', 'I will visit you at your office in the university very soon'). The English mostly preferred to use the *here-statement* "Here you go" and *leave-talk* "*Have a nice day"* strategies. Regarding the use of *alerters*, Jordanians used most of the subcategories of *alerters* such as *stating the person's title (* "دكتور سميث", 'Duktu:r Smiθ', 'Dr. Smith') *and name and getting attentio*n ("ان شاء الله", '<in ʃa:' Allah' 'God willing'), **("السّلام عليكم",** 'assala:mu ʕaljkum', 'Pease be upon you, Hello") more than the English participants.

With regard to *repayment*, the analysis revealed the English participants' preference for offering to *reciprocate help* ("If you need any copies in the future, please let me know"), *money* ("I would like to reimburse you for the FedEx costs") and *promising self-improvement* ("I will be more organised next time") compared to Jordanians who preferred *offering help* ("انا جاهز اخدمك من عيوني", '>ana: dʒa:hiz axdimak min ʕu:ni:','I am ready to help you from my eyes') and *food* ("يشرفنا أن نتناول الغداء معنا", 'juʃarifuna >an natana:wal alɣada' maʕana:', 'We will be honoured when you have lunch with us') showing *inability to repay the favour giver(* " مهما فعلنا لن نستطيع أن نرد معروفك" , 'mahma: faʕalna:, :lan nasˁtati:ʕ >an narud maʕru:fak'', 'We will not be able to repay your favour whatever we do'). With respect to the *appreciation* strategy, the English participants used all the subcategories with different degrees: "I really appreciate that", "Your efforts are much appreciated" more the Jordanian participants.

English participants expressed *apology* mainly using *apologetic words* ("I'm *sorry* for the short notice"), *mentioning the imposition caused by the favour* ("I am sorry *for any inconvenience*") and showed a high preference for apologising by *expressing embarrassment* ("I really feel embarrassed") more than Jordanians,

who opt for indirect apology strategies, such as: *criticising or blaming themselves* ("انها غلطتي", '<inaha: ɣalt^{ʕ}ati:', 'It is my mistake') and apologising by *giving reasons or excuses and showing the imposition caused by the favour* ("اعتذر عن التاخير", '>aʕtaðir ʕan at>xi:r', 'I apologise for the delay') and ("ارجو ان تسامحني على اي احراجا سببته لك", '>ardʒu: an tusamiħani: ʕala: >aj <ħradʒ sababtuh lak', 'I beg your forgiveness for any embarrassment I caused you') respectively.

The analysis of the subcategories of *recognition of imposition* shows the preference of the English participants for *acknowledging the imposition* generally "I realise that I put you in an awkward situation with regard to the other students" and by *stating the reason and the need for the favour* "I don't know what I would have done without your help" and Jordanians' tendency to *diminish the need for the favour* ("ما كان يجب عليك أن تفعل ذلك", 'ma: ka:n jadʒib ʕaljk >an tafʕal ða:lik', 'You should not have done that') and state *the interlocutor's non-existent obligation* ("لم أرد ازعاجك", 'lam >urid <izʕadʒak', 'I did not want to disturb you').

The act of swearing was only found to preface gratitude expressions in the Jordanian data to intensify the expression of gratitude. Following Abdel-Jawad (2010:217), swearing in the context of the present thesis could be defined as "the invocation of the divine powers for backing what one has said or done". Abdel-Jawad (ibid: 218) argues that it "has retained its original form and function in the Arab world but has not developed the western senses of imprecation, cursing, blasphemy, or the like". Swearing was used in combination with some gratitude strategies *thanking* ("والله اني عاجز عن شكرك",'wa Allah <ini: ʕa:dʒiz ʕan ʃukrik','By the name of Allah, I am unable to thank you'), *apology(* "والله اني متاسف كثير كثير", 'wa Allah <ini: mut>sif kθi:r kθi:r','By the name of Allah, I am very very sorry'), *positive feeling* " والله انك على راسي", 'wa Allah <inak ʕala: rasi:','By the name of Allah, You are on my head'(show high respect), *repayment* "والله لازم تتفضل على الغداء معنا الان", 'wa Allah la:zim tatafad^{ʕ}d^{ʕ}al ʕala: alɣada maʕana: ala:n','By the name of Allah, you have to come to dine with us'), *recognition of impositions* ("والله لو كنت اعرف انه يأخذ وقت وجهد كبير ما كنت طلبتك ان تصلحه", 'wa Allah law kunt >aʕrif >inuh jaxið waqit wa dʒuhid kabi:r ma kunt t^{ʕ}alabtak >an

tusʕliħuh', 'By the name of Allah, if I had known that it would take such a long time and great efforts, I would not have asked you to fix it'). Swearing was mainly used as a way to intensify their gratitude expressions. This is because it confirms truthfulness and sincerity ("والله عاجز عن التعبير عن شكري لما قدمت", 'wa Allah ʕa:dʒiz ʕan altʕbi:r ʕan ʃukri: lima: qadamit', 'By the name of Allah, I am unable to express my thankfulness for what you presented/did'), substantiate the thanker's pure intent to restore equilibrium in the cost-benefit relation between thanker and thankee"والله مهما اقدم فلن أقدر على رد معروفك",'wa Allah 'mahma: nuqadim falan >aqdir ʕala: rad maʕru:fak', 'By the name of Allah, whatever I present/give, I will not be able to repay your favour'), and the thanker's lack of intent to impose on the thankee "والله لم أرد ان ازعجك معي" ,'wa Allah lam >urid >an >uzʕidʒak maʕi:', 'By the name of Allah, I did not want to bother you'). More elaboration of the use of swearing in expressing communicative acts, especially gratitude is provided in Chapter 5 (Section5.2).

Regarding the overall use of strategies, T-test results show that some significant differences appeared in the use of *appreciation*: "Your efforts are much appreciated", *positive feelings* ("لا اعرف ماذا اقول لك", 'la: >aʕrif maða >aqu:l lak', 'I do not know what to say to you'), *other strategies (e.g. religious formulae in the form of a supplication* "رفعك الله اعلى المراتب", 'rafaʕk Allah >aʕla almaratib',' May Allah raise you to the highest echelons), *and alerters (*'يا دكتور باروك', 'ja: Duktu:r Ba:rwik','Doctor Barwick') strategies. Table F.12 (Appendix F) shows that the English participants used *appreciation* strategy significantly more than Jordanians (p.000), whereas Jordanians used the latter three strategies significantly more than the English; *positive feelings* (p.045), *other strategies* (p.000), *and alerters* (p.000). Thus, Jordanian and English people significantly use different types of gratitude expression strategies.

4.2.2.2 Types of strategy across social situations

The strategies of gratitude expression were also investigated in each situation for both groups in order to examine the impact of the social and contextual variables on the communication of gratitude. The overall distribution of the strategies of

gratitude expression in each situation by Jordanians and English is demonstrated in Figures (4.4- 4.11). As clearly shown in the figures, the type of strategies and their frequencies dramatically differ from one situation to another for both NSsA and NSsE. The T-test results shown in Tables F.13-G.20 (Appendix F) revealed some other significant differences at the level of the situation more than the overall use of strategies by both groups.

- **Class notes situation**[60]

Figure 4.4 shows the types of strategies used by NSsA and NSsE in the c*lass notes* situation. NSsE used *thanking* "Thanks a lot", *positive feelings* "It was very kind of you to lend me your notes", "they were helpful", *repayment* "I will do the same for you anytime you need me to", and *appreciation* "I really appreciate you lending me the notes" more than *other strategies* "I could not attend the lecture as I was really sick' and *alerters "Mate"*. On the other hand, NSsA used *thanking'* ("اشكرك", '>aʃkuruk', *'I thank you'), other strategies* ("الله يوفقك ", 'Allah jwafiqak', 'May Allah help you'), *positive feelings ("*ملاحظاتك كثير مرتبه" , 'mula:ħaðˤa:tuk kθj:r mratabah', 'Your class notes are very neat), *repayment* ("اي خدمه, لا تتردد", '>aj xidmah, la: titradad' , 'Any service, I am ready') more than *alerters* ("ياصديقي", 'ja: sˤadi:qi:','My friend') and *appreciation* ("اقدرها لك", '>uqadirha lak','I appreciate it for you'). No sign of the *apology* and *recognition of imposition* strategy was found in either group's data.

The t-test results of this situation (Table F.13, Appendix F) revealed that the English participants used *thanking* "Many thanks", *appreciation* "Much appreciated", and *repayment* "Please let me know if you ever need my notes" significantly more than Jordanians who used only *other strategies* (e.g. *religious formulae in the form of a supplication* "الله يسهل ا مر دراستك", 'Allah jusahil >amir dirasatak','May Allah ease your studying affair') and *initiating small talk* "لو سمحت اشرح لي هذه الفكره*)"*, 'law samaħit <ʃraħ li: haðihi alfikrah', 'Please explain this idea to me') significantly more than English.

[60] The description of the situations is provided in Appendix D, page 328.

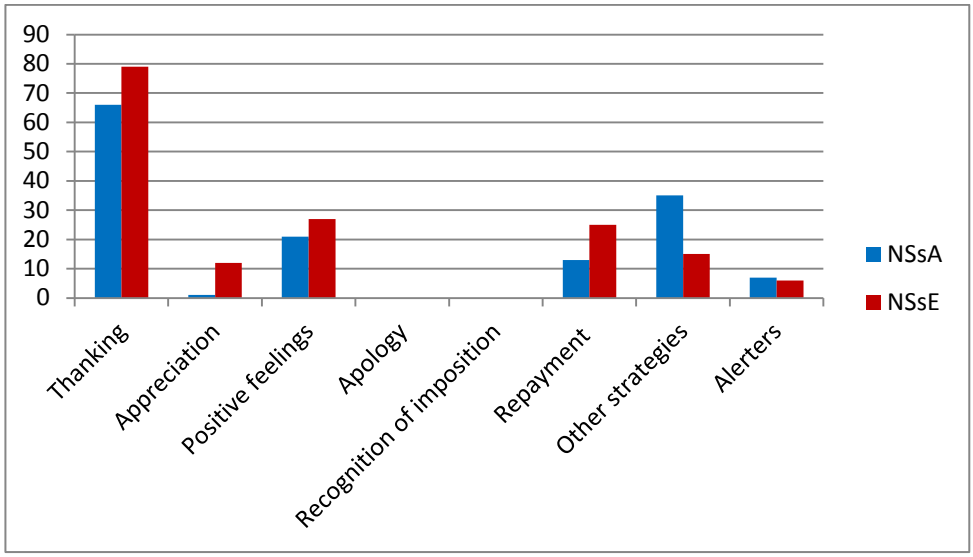

Figure 4. 4: Frequency of strategies used in class notes situation by NSsA and NSsE

- **Booking a hotel situation**

Figure 4.5 shows the overall distribution of the strategies of gratitude expression in the *booking a hotel* situation by Jordanian and English participants. Jordanians used *thanking* (" شكرا لك على هذه الخدمه الرائعه ", ‘ʃukran lak ʕala: haðihi alxidmah ra:’ʕah’, ‘Thank you for this wonderful service’), *positive feelings* "اخلاقك عاليه", ("جدا ‘>axla:qak ʕa:ljah dʒidan’, ‘Your manners are very high’), *apology* "اسف على ‘a:sif ʕala: >aj <iħraj’ ‘,‘I am sorry for any disturbance’), *repayment* ("جاهز ومستعد لخدمتك", ‘dʒahiz wa mustaʕid lixdmatik’, ‘I am available and ready for your service’), *other startgies* (e.g. *small talk* ("كيف ومتى تعلمت اللغه الفرنسيه ", ‘kajf wa mata taʕalmt aluɣah alfaransjah’, ‘How and when did you learn the French language’), and *alerters* ("حبيبتي", ‘ħabibati:’, ‘My sweetheart’) more than the English except *appreciation* ("اقدر لك مساعدتك", ‘>uqadir lak musa:ʕadatak’, ‘I appreciate for you your help’) *and recognition of imposition (*" أزعجتك بطلبي ", ‘>azʕadʒtak’ bitʿalabi:’,‘I disturbed you with my request’). The English participants used *thanking* “Thank you for helping book the hotel in France”, “Thank for the reservation”, *appreciation* “I appreciate your help”, *positive feelings* “That's really helpful”, “That was kind of you”, “You’ve really helped me

out", *other strategies (e.g. small talk* "I wish I could speak French fluently!", *repayment* "Would you like a cup of tea", "Please let me know if I can ever do anything to repay you", *recognition of imposition* "I know I have disturbed you", *apology* "I am sorry I have taken some of your time to help me with my reservation" and *alerters* "Sir" respectively.

The T-test analysis of this situation (Table F.14, Appendix F) shows that the English participants used *appreciation* "I appreciate your help" significantly more than Jordanians who significantly used *other strategies (e.g. paryers* "الله يهون عليك كما هونت علي", 'Allah juhawn ʕaljk kama: hawant ʕalj', 'May Allah make it easy for you as you made it for me') and *repayments* ('الله يقدرنا على رد معروفك" , 'Allah juqadirna ʕala: rad maʕru:fik', 'May Allah enable us to repay your favour') more than the English.

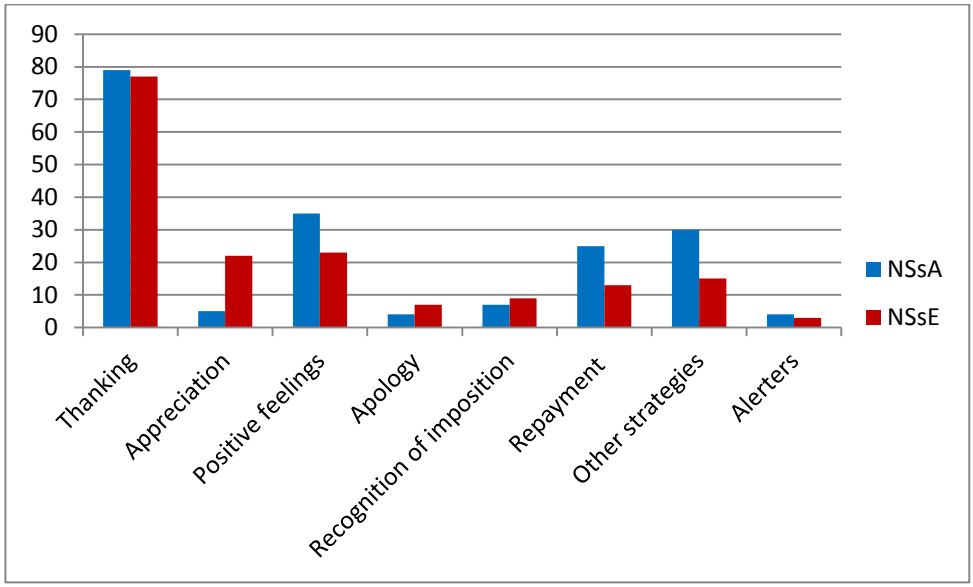

Figure 4. 5: Frequency of strategies used in booking a hotel situation by NSsA and NSsE

- **In a restaurant situation**

Figure 4.6 shows the overall distribution of the strategies used for expressing gratitude in the *in a restaurant* situation by the English and Jordanian participants. The English appear to prefer using *thanking* "Thanks for paying the bill", *repayment* "I will certainly have to pay the bill next time we eat together", "Please

let us give you some money back", *positive feelings* "That was very kind of you", *recognition of imposition* "That is too much money", *appreciation* "I really appreciate that" and *other strategies "* e.g. *joking* "That was very naughty of you" in this situation more than *apology* "I should not have accepted that" *and alerters "darling",* whereas their Jordanian counterparts appear to prefer using *thanking* ("شكرا لك كثيرا", 'ʃukran lak kaθi:ran', 'Thank you very much'), *other strategies (e.g. religious formulae in the form of a supplication "* الله يعطيك من واسع ابوابه ", 'Allah jaʕti:k min wa:siʕ abwa:buh', 'May Allah give you from his wide doors'), *repayment (* "الغداء عندي الاسبوع القادم", 'alɣada' ʕindi: al<isbuʕ alqadim', 'Lunch is going to be in my house next week'), *positive feelings* ("والله انك كريم" , 'wa Allah innak kari:m', 'By the name of Allah, 'you are generous'), *recognition of imposition* ("حملنا عليك كثير", 'ħamalna ʕali:k kθi:r', ' We have imposed on you so much'), *alerters* ("عيوني", 'ʕun:ni:', 'My eyes') and *apology* "اني محرجه كثير منك تعرف"), 'tiʕraf <ini: muħradʒah kθi:r minak','Do you know that I am very embarrassed from you') respectively.

The T-test results of this situation (Table F.15, Appendix F) show that the English significantly used *appreciation* "I appreciate that", *and repayment* "It's my treat next time" strategies more than Jordanians who significantly used *other strategies (e.g. religious formulae in the form of a supplication* ("الله يوسع عليك", 'Allah jwasʕ ʕali:k','May Allah expand on'(give too much wealth), *initiating small talk* "ما هي اخراخبارك ؟",'Ma hija axbarak','What is your latest news?') strategy more than the English.

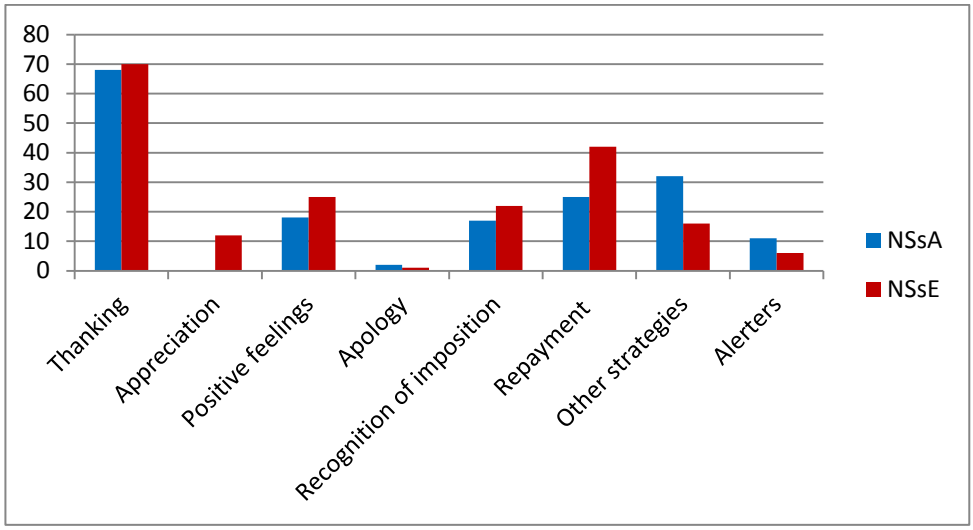

Figure 4. 6: Frequency of strategies used in in restaurant situation by NSsA and NSsE

- **Computer situation**

Figure 4.7 shows the overall distribution of the strategies of gratitude expression in the c*omputer* situation by Jordanian and English participants. The English participants used *thanking "*Thanks for helping me out", *repayment* "I certainly owe you a favour", "What can I do to repay you?", *appreciation* "I really appreciate the help", *apology* "I am so sorry it has taken so long", *recognition of imposition "*The whole afternoon!," *"*I know I have taken time out of your busy schedule to help me", *positive feelings* "That was very generous of you with your time", "You have gone out of your way to help me" more than *other strategies*. However, Jordanian participants appeared to prefer using *thanking* "يعجز اللسان عن شكرك", 'jaʕdʒaz alisa:n ʕan ʃukrik','The tongue can not thank you enough'), *other strategies (e.g. religious formulae in the form of a supplication* "يسر الله جميع امورك",'Jassar Allah dʒami:ʕ >umu:rak','May Allah ease all your affairs), *positive feelings "*والله انك تفهم", 'wa Allah inak tifham', 'By the name of Allah, you understand(considerate)), *repayment(* "انا في خدمتك", '>ana: fi: xidmtak', 'I am in your service'), *recognition of imposition,* ("اتمنى ان لا اكون سببت لك كثير من المشاكل",

‘>atamana: >an la: aku:n sababt lak kaθi:r min almaʃa:kil’,‘I wish I did not cause a lot of troubles for you’) and apology (“انا اعرف انه الحق علي”, ,‘>ana: >aʕrif >inuh alħaq ʕalj’,‘I know that it is my fault’), more than *appreciation* (" اقدر موقفك النبيل “هذا , ‘>uqadir lak mawqifak alnabi:l haða:’,‘I appreciate for you your noble stand’) and *alerters* (“يا زميلي العزيز”, ‘ja: zami:li: alʕazi:z’,‘My dear colleague’).

The T-test analysis of the data (Table F.16, Appendix F) revealed significant use of the *appreciation* “I really appreciate you taking so much of your time to help me” and *repayment* “Please let me know how I can help you” by the English and Jordanians’ significant use of *positive feelings* (“ممنون جدا لتَعاونك”, ‘mamnu:n dʒidan li taʕa:wnik’,‘I am grateful for your cooperation’), and *other strategies (e.g religious formulae in the form of a supplication* “الله يهون عليك كل صعب”, ‘Allah juhawn ʕali:k kul sˁaʕib’,‘May Allah make any difficulty easy for you’), and *express a desire to maintain a relationship* (“معرفة الناس الطيبه امثالك مكسب”, ‘maʕrifat ana:s atˁjbah amθa:lak maksab’, ‘Knowing good people like you is a gain’).

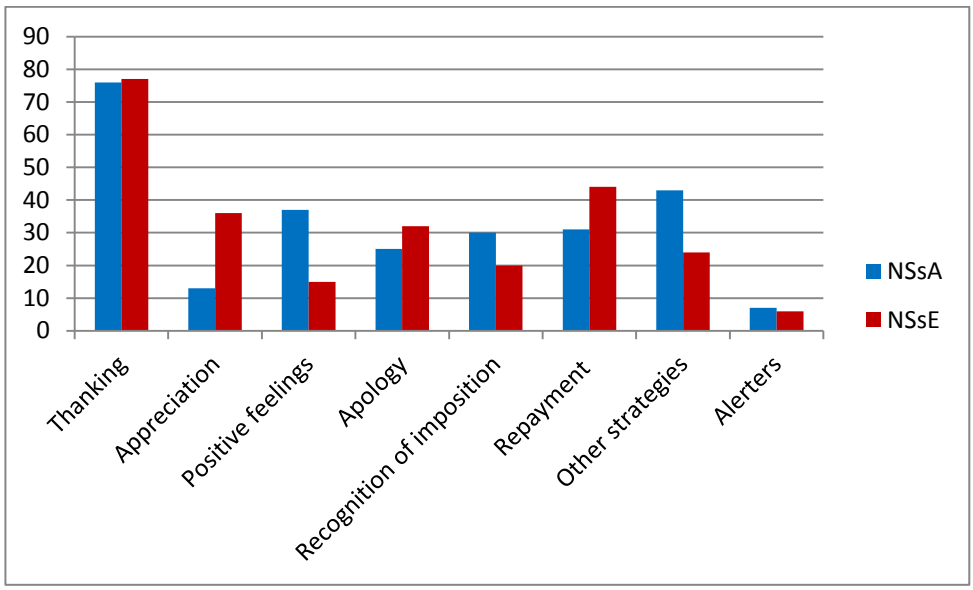

Figure 4. 7: Frequency of strategies used in computer situation by NSsA and NSsE

- **Recommendation letter situation**

Figure 4.8 shows the overall distribution of the strategies used for expressing gratitude in the *recommendation letter situation* by the English and Jordanian

participants. English participants used only *thanking* **"**Thanks for the letter", *positive feelings* "I knew I could count on you", "It will help me with my job application", *other strategies* (e.g. *small talk* "Really I enjoyed the courses you ran last semester"), *alerters* (e.g. *name,* "Barwick') , *appreciation* "I appreciate your help" and *repayment* "I'll keep you posted!", "I will let you know how I get on with the scholarship". No sign of the *apology* and *recognition of imposition* strategies was found in the English data. Compared to the English, Jordanians appeared to prefer using a mixture, though with different frequencies. They used *thanking (* "شكرا جزيلا على ثقتك العاليه بي و دعمك لي", 'ʃukran dʒazi:lan lak ʕala: θiqatik alʕaljah bi: wa daʕmik li:','Thank you very much for your high trust in me and for supporting me'), *positive feeling* "غمرتني بلطفك و بمعروفك") 'ɣamartani: bilutˁfik wa bimaʕru:fik','You overwhelmed us your kindess and favour'), *alerters (e.g titles*," دكتور", 'Duktu:r' 'Doctor'), *other strategie (e.g.".* بارك الله فيك" 'Ba:rak Allah fi:k','May Allah bless you'), *appreciation"* اقدر لك مساعدتك و لطفك"), '>uqadir lak musa:ʕadatak wa lutfik','I appreciate yor kindness and help'), *repayment* ("لن انسى خدمتك لي ", 'lan >ansa: xidmatak li:', 'I will never forget your service for me'), *apology ("* اسف جدا جدا" , 'a:sif dʒidan dʒidan', 'I am so so sorry') *and recognition of imposition ("*عطلتك عن اشغالك", 'ʕatˁaltak ʕan aʃɣa:lik', 'I distracted you from your work').

The T-test analysis of the strategies used in this situation (Table F.17, Appendix F) shows that Jordanians used only *repayment* " لن انسى معروفك طول حياتي ", 'lan ansa: maʕru:fak'tˁu:l ħajati:','I will never ever forget your favour all my life'), *apology ("*اعتذر لانني اخذت من وقتك كثير", '>aʕtaðir li>anani: axaðt min waqtik alkaθi:r','I apologise because I took so much of your time'), *and recognition of imposition(* "أزعجتك دكتور كثير كثير معي", '>azʕadʒtak' Duktu:r kθi:r kθi:r maʕi:',' I disturbed you doctor very much very much with me') significantly more than the English.

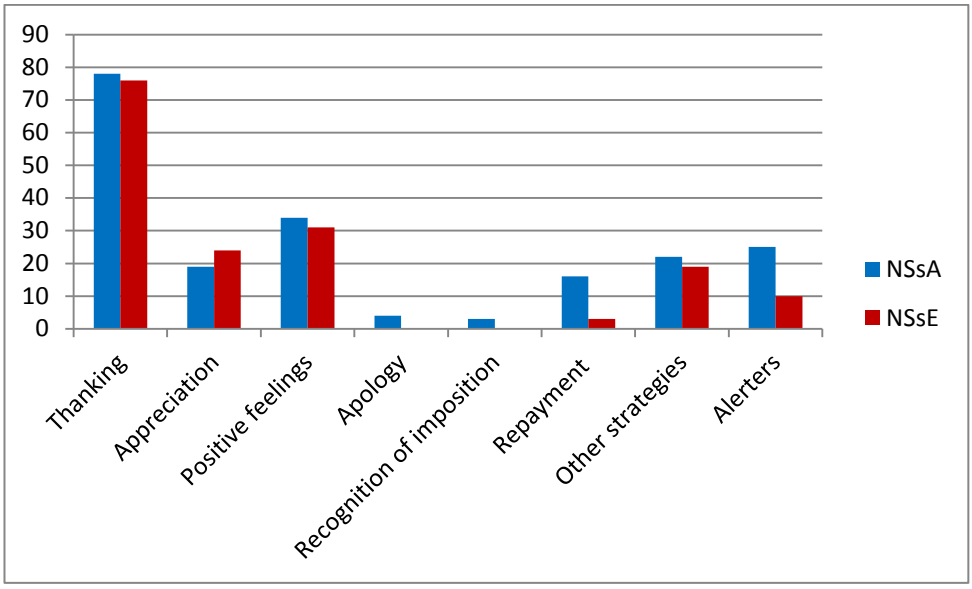

Figure 4. 8: Frequency of strategies used in recommendation letter situation by NSsA and NSsE

- **FedEx situation**

Figure 4.9 shows the overall distribution of the strategies of gratitude expression in *FedEx* situation by Jordanian and English participants. The English data of this situation show their high preference of using *thanking* "Thanks for making the effort to write my recommendation letter and also for sending the letter by FedEx", "Thank for writing a letter at short notice", *appreciation* "I really appreciate that", *positive feeling* "You have helped me a lot", "That's fantastic", *repayment* "Do you want a contribution towards the postage", "Let me pay you for the postage", besides *recognition of impositions* "I know you were really busy", *apology* "I'm really sorry for the short notice", *other strategies (small talk "*Fingers crossed, I will get the scholarship*"* and *alerters* "wow" respectively. Compared to the English results, Jordanians showed a high frequency of using most gratitude expression strategies: *thanking* ("شكرا لك جزيلا على الوقت الاضافي في كتَابة رسالَة التَوصية وارسالها عن طريق فيديكس", ʻʃukran lak dʒazi:lan ʕala: alwaqit alidʕafi: fi: kita:bat risa:lat altawsjah wa <rasa:liha ʕan tʕari:q fi:di:ksʼ,ʻThank you very much for the extra time you took for writing the reference letter and sending it via FedExʼ), *positive feelings(* "ارسالك الرساله لي عن طريق فيديكس يعني لي

"الكثير , 'Irsalak alrisalah ʕan tˁari:q fi:di:ks jaʕni: li: alkaθi:r',' Sending the reference letter for me via FedEx means a lot to me'), *apology* "أعتذر عن إخبارك متأخرا", '>aʕtaðir ʕan <ixbark mut>axiran', ' I apologise for telling you late'), *recognition of imposition (*"انا متاكد انك هذه الفتره عندك الكثير من الاشغال" , ' >ana: mut>akid >anak haðihi alfatrah ʕindak alkθi:r min al>ʃɣal', 'I am sure that you have a lot of work this period of time'), *alerters(titles ,*"بروفوسور", 'Bru:fi:su:r', ' Professor'), *appreciation* "اقدر لك هذه المساعده العظيمه", '>uqadir lak haðihi almusaʕadah alʕaðˁi:mah','I appreciate for you this great help'), *other strategies (e.g religious formulae in the form of a supplication,* "الله يقويك", 'Allah juqawi:k','May Allah give you power'), and *repayment* (معروفك هذا استاذي لن ينسى" "ابدا,'maʕru:fak haða: usta:ði: lan junsa: abadan','You favour my teacher will never ever be forgotten') except *appreciation*. Repayment appeared to be the least preferred strategy for Jordanians in this situation.

Significant differences (Table F.18, Appendix F) resulted from the T-test analysis appear in British's use of *appreciation* "I appreciate you doing that for me" and Jordanian's use of *apology* ("محرج منك كثير", 'muħraj mink kθi:r','I am really embarrassed from you so much'), *recognition of imposition (*"اتعبناك معنا كثير" , 'atʕabna:k maʕna: kθi:r','We tired you with us so much'), and *alerters (*استاذي" "العزيز, 'usta:ði: alʕazi:z','My dear teacher').

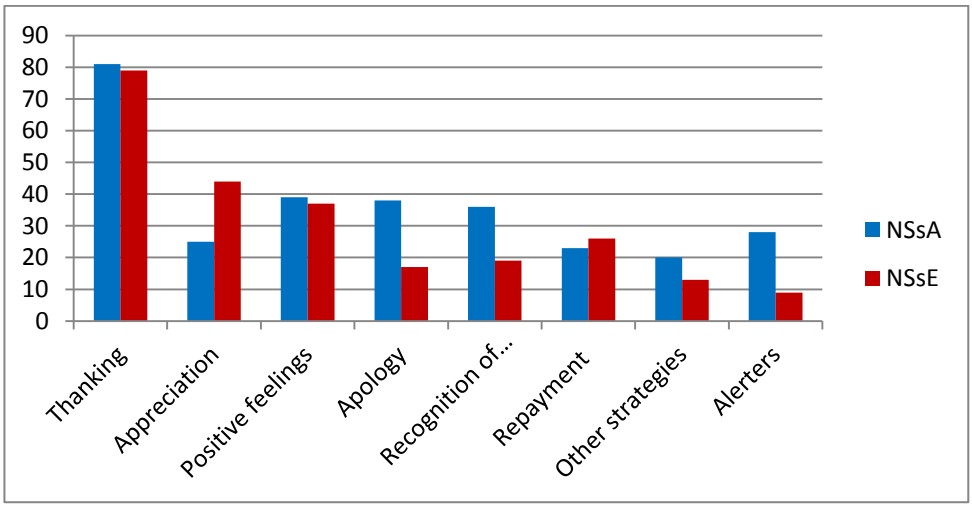

Figure 4. 9: Frequency of strategies used in the FedEx situation by NSsA and NSsE

- **Paper extension situation**

Figure 4.10 shows the overall distribution of the strategies of gratitude expression in *the paper extension situation* by Jordanians and British. The frequency in the use of many strategies by the English participants is higher in this situation compared to the situations mentioned above. They used a mixture of all strategies; *thanking* "Thanks for granting me the extension", "Thank you for your generosity for giving me the extension", *repayment* "It won't happen again", *appreciation* "I appreciate your help", *positive feelings* "it was very good of you". "I think it will help towards achieving a high grade", "you saved me", *other strategies (e.g. Here statement,* "Here is my term paper", *recognition of imposition "I know it is hard, but* I had so much revision to do", *apology* "I'm sorry that I needed to take it though", and *alerters (e.g. name* " Cox" respectively. However, Jordanians used *thanking* ("اشكرك كثير دكتور لتمديد فترة تسليم البحث", '>aʃkuruk kθi:r duktu:r litamdi:d fatrat tasli:m albaħθ','Thanks you very much doctor for extending the deadline of submitting the research work'), *alerters(e.g title and name* ("بروفيسور كوكس", ''Bru:fi:su:r Kuks' 'Professor Cox'), *positive feelings* ("هذا من لطفك", 'haða: min lutfak', 'This is really kind of you'), *other strategies (e.g religious formulae in the form of a supplication* ("بارك الله فيك", 'ba:rak Allah fi:k', 'May Allah bless you'), *repayment ("*ان شاء الله هذا لن يتكرر", '<in ʃa:' Allah haða: lan jatakarar', 'God willing, this will not happen again'), *appreciation* ("اقدر مساعدتك كثيرا", '>uqadir musa:ʕadatak kθi:ran', 'I appreciate your help very much'), *apology* ("اعتذر مره اخرى على التأخير في تسليم البحث", '>aʕtaðir marrah >uxra: ʕala: at>xi:r' fi: tasli:m albaħθ', 'Once again I apologise for the delay for handing in the research work'), and *recognition of imposition* ("انا اخذت كثير من وقتك", '>ana: >axaðt alkaθi:r min waqtik', ' I took a lot of your time') respectively.

Table F.19 (Appendix, F) shows some significant differences in the use of strategy's types in this situation. While the English participants significantly used *appreciation* strategy "I highly appreciate that" and *repayment* "I'll make sure I meet deadlines in the future", "I will make sure that all my papers are handed in on time", Jordanians used *alerters* (titles and names ("أستاذ كوكس", '>usta:ð Kuks', 'Teacher Cox') significantly more than the English.

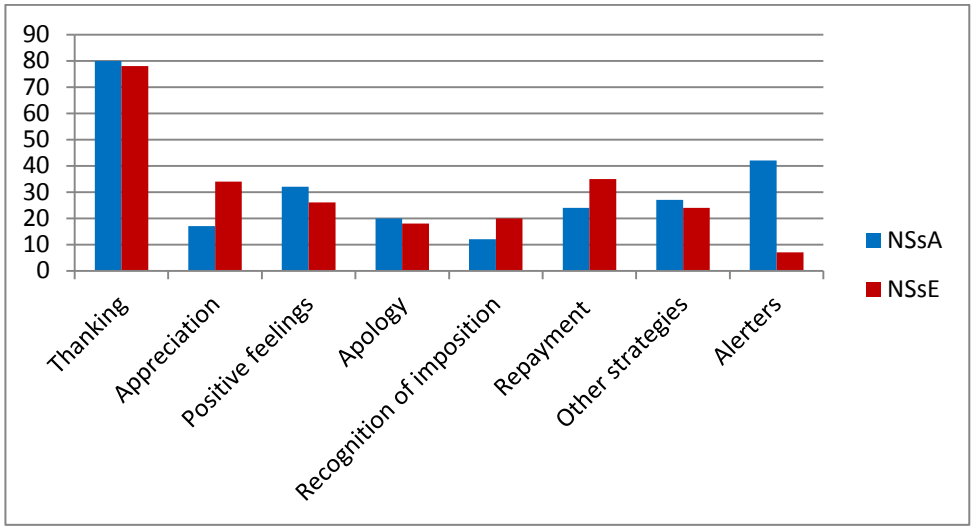

Figure 4. 10: Frequency of strategies used in paper extension situation by NSsA and NSsE

- **Giving directions situation**

Figure 4.11 shows the overall distribution of the strategies of gratitude expression in *giving directions* situation by English and Jordanian participants. The frequencies in this situation appeared to be markedly different for both groups. The English only showed high preference of using *thanking* "Thanks", "Thank for the directions" compared to other strategies; *other strategies (e.g. talk-leave* "See you later', *small talk* "I don't think I would ever have found it on my own", *alerters, positive feelings* "I'm really grateful", "It was so lucky I met you" *appreciation "I appreciate it*" and *repayment* "we should have a coffee sometime". However, they did not use the *recognition of imposition* or *apology* either. On the other hand, Jordanians used *thanking* ("اشكرك كثير", '>aʃkuruk kθi:ran', 'Thank you very much'), *other strategies (e.g. religious formulae in the form of a supplication,* "الحمدلله انني التقيت بك", 'alħmdul lillah anani: iltaqjt bik', 'Thanks to Allah, I have met you'), *alerters (e.g. title, (*"أستاذ", 'ustað' 'Teacher'), *positive feelings* ("انقذت حياتي", '>anqaðt ħaja:ti:', 'You saved my life'), *and repayment* ("لنا الشرف الكبير ان تتفضل معنا", 'lana: alʃaraf alkabi:r >an tafadˁdˁal'' maʕana:', 'The great honour is ours to welcome you with us'), *apology* "اسف اذا كنت اخرتك", 'a:sif <iða: kunt >axartak','I am sorry if I made you late') and

recognition of imposition (“أزعجتك”, ‘>azʕadʒtak’,‘I disturbed you’) respectively, though no sign of *appreciation* was found.

Significant differences in this situation (Table F.20, Appendix F) appeared in the English participants’ use of *appreciation “Much appreciated” and* Jordanians’ use of *positive feelings* (“سمعتك كثير طيبه بالجامعه”, ‘‘sumʕatak kθi:r tˁjbah bildʒa:miʕah’, ‘Your reputation is very good at the university’), *repayment (*“يشرفنا ان نستضيفك معنا”, ‘jʃarifuna >an nstadˁi:fak maʕana:’,*‘We will be honoured to host you) andalertss* (“استاذي, ‘usta:ði:’ ‘My teacher’).

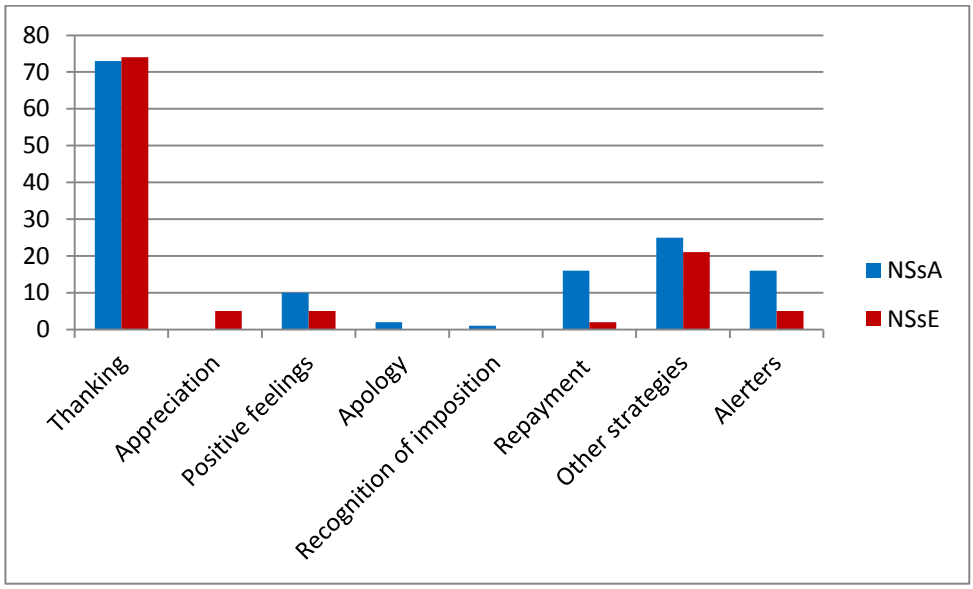

Figure 4. 11: Frequency of strategies used in giving directions situation by NSsAs and NSsE

4.3 How and to what extent are the data gleaned from DCTs different from those obtained by using role-plays

This section compares DCT and role-play in terms of the number and types of strategies. The analysis is conducted on the data collected from role-plays and DCTs as a whole and is supported by another analysis of the same data obtained by both instruments in each situation (see Tables G.1-G.8, Appendix G). This way of analysis enables the researcher to analyse the findings clearly and conveniently. This in turn helped to provide convincing and solid evidence of any similarities or differences between the research instruments, and make generalisations on that

basis. Examples of the type of gratitude expressions gleaned from DCT and those of role-play are also provided.

4.3.1 Number of strategies gleaned from DCT and role-play

Both instruments were compared in terms of the strategies. The analysis of the difference between the number of strategies elicited from DCTs and that from role-plays was done for each native group (NSsA and NSsE) separately. Figure (4.12) shows that the frequency of the overall number of strategies used by both groups in the role-play is higher than that of the DCT.

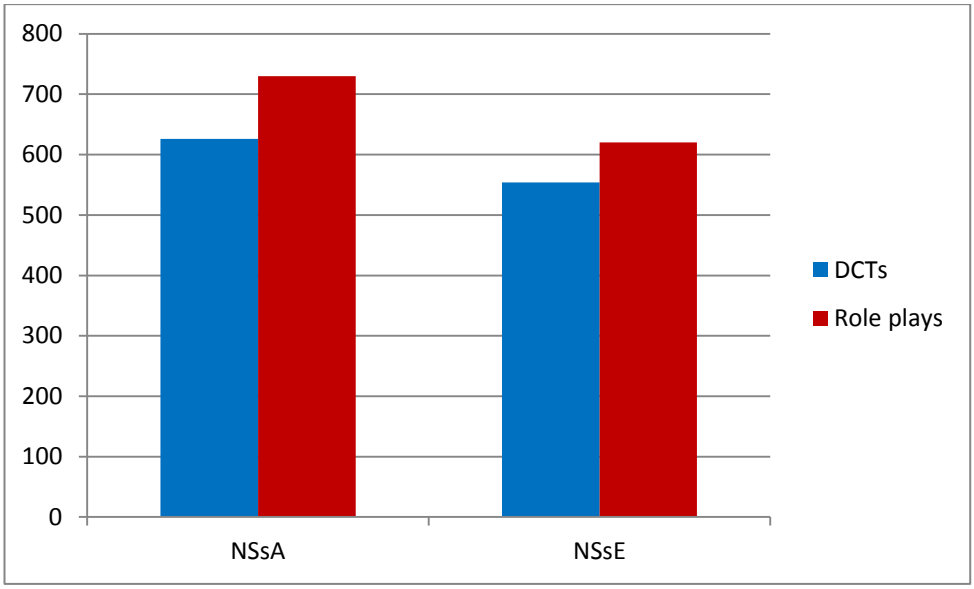

Figure 4. 12: Frequency of gratitude strategies used by NSsA and NSsE in role-plays and DCTs

The T-test (Table G.9 and G.10, Appendix G) results revealed a significant difference in the total number of strategies yielded by DCT and role-play as used by both NSsA (p.000) and NSsE (p.003).

4.3.2 Types of strategy used in DCT and role-play

The overall distribution of the strategies of gratitude expression yielded by Jordanians and English is demonstrated in Figure (4.13-4.14) respectively. Both Figures show that both instruments yield the same strategies, though with

different frequencies. The role-play was found to yield frequencies of all types of strategies more than the DCT. In general, most strategies were used in both instruments, but to some extent the participants showed some elaboration in role-plays more than DCTs which could account for the interpretation of the previous finding regarding the number of strategies elicited by both instruments. It is noteworthy that the role-play was found better than the DCT in giving insights about the communication of emotions through the participants' facial expressions and tone of voice. This could be linked to the participants' perception discussed in Section 4.4.3 where words could have little meaning compared to the actual tone of voice and body language. For example, expressions such as "Wow" "Oh" only appeared in role-plays, but not in DCTs. The act of swearing (والله اني عاجز عن شكرك", 'wa Allah <ini: ʕa:dʒiz ʕan ʃukrik', 'By the name of Allah, I am unable to thank you'), (e.g. "والله انك أصيل", 'wa Allah <inak >asʕi:l', ''By the name of Allah, you are well-bred), discussed earlier in Section (4.2.2), also appeared only in role-plays in the Jordanian's data. Besides, the emphasis Jordanians tend to place on some gratitude expressions by repeating the same word once or twice was observed more in role-plays more than DCTs.

Figure (4.13) shows the highest frequency for all strategies: thanking, positive feeling, other strategies and alerters compared repayment, apology, and recognition of imposition except appreciation as used by NSsA. The analysis of the results revealed some significant differences in type of gratitude strategies used in both instruments DCT and Role-play. Table G.11 (Appendix G) shows that role-play significantly provided more positive feelings (p.043) than other strategies (p.048), and alerts (p.042) as used by NSsA compared to DCTs.

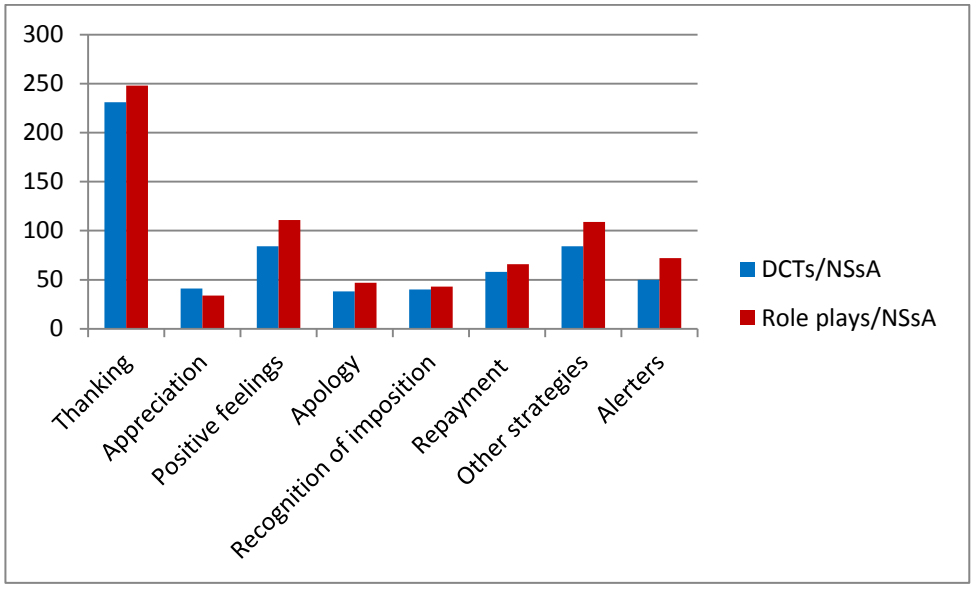

Figure 4. 13: Frequency of gratitude strategies used by NSsA in both DCTs and role-plays

Table H.1 shows some examples of gratitude expressions elicited from the Jordanian participants by DCT and role-play and the situations in which they appear (Appendix H).

Figure (4.14) shows the data collected from the English participants by both DCT and role-play. It shows that all the strategies (thanking, positive feeling, repayment, and appreciation, other strategies, the recognition of imposition, apology and alerts respectively) were used more by the English participants in the role-play not the DCT.

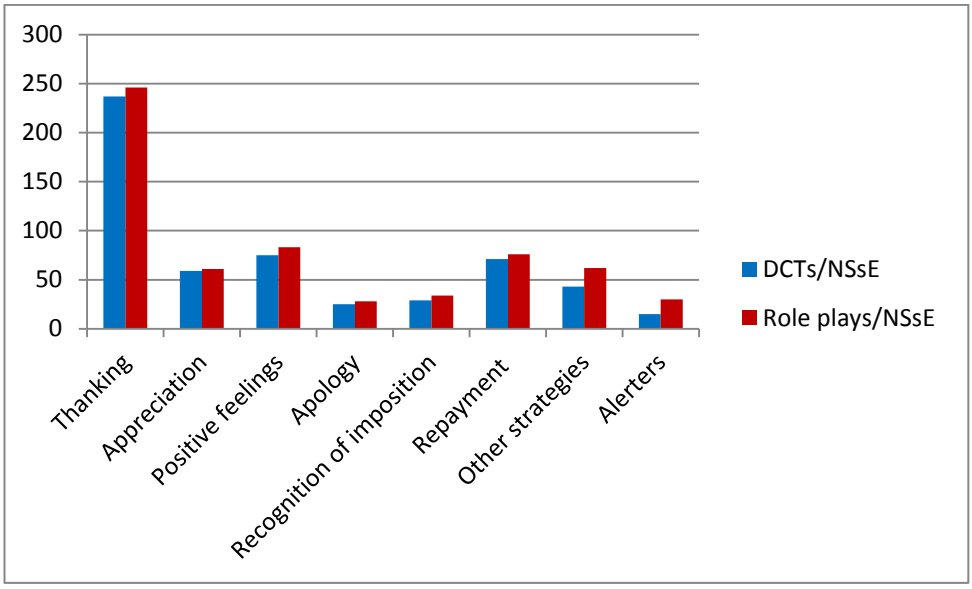

Figure 4. 14: Frequency of gratitude strategies used by NSsE in both DCTs and role-plays

The analysis of the results revealed some significant differences in type of gratitude expression strategies used in both DCTs and role-plays. Table G.12 (Appendix G) shows that role-plays significantly provided more *other strategies* (p.043), *and alerts* (p.025) as used by NSsE compared to DCTs. Table H.2 shows some examples of gratitude expressions elicited from the English participants by DCTs and role-plays and the situations in which they appear (Appendix H).

4.4 Do Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of English perceive the communication of gratitude in different ways

4.4.1 The perception of the significance of gratitude expression

The analysis of the data shown in the following tables reveals some similarities and remarkable differences in the perception of gratitude expression among Jordanians and English people.

Table 4. 1: Significance of gratitude expression

Subjects	Significance			
	Politeness implication	Religious implication	Social and cultural norm	Social implication
English	100%	0%	100%	20%
Jordanians	100%	90%	55%	100%

Table 4.1 shows that both groups emphasised the significance of expressing gratitude as a way to show appreciation for the kindness and helpfulness of others. They stated that "manners cost nothing and everyone likes to feel appreciated". That is, by expressing gratitude to somebody, we implicitly or explicitly acknowledge that we are indebted to one or more other people and that we accept to return the favour.

In particular, all English participants highlighted the idea that expressing gratitude is a sign of politeness and a conventional social norm: "expressing gratitude helps you be polite to others and make people feel appreciated", "it is polite and basic manners and help should always be rewarded", "it is always good manners to be polite and thank people for their favour". They pointed out that gratitude expression is a matter of common decency and manners taught at home and school from an early age. They also pointed out that breaking this convention is a sign of rudeness and indicates ungratefulness and under-appreciation of the favour, impoliteness and lack of basic manners, potentially leading to bad feelings, anger, and disappointment, as it breaks the rule: "Deal with others as you want them to deal with you".

All Jordanian participants said that expression of gratitude is of a good indication of politeness, a reflection of the personal image which facilitates establishing and maintaining good social relationships. As many as 16 Jordanian subjects stated that their deep commitment to thanking was rooted in strongly held religious belief (i.e. profet Mohammad's saying "من لا يشكر الناس لا يشكر الله", 'man la: jaʃkur anna:s la: jaʃkur Allah' 'He who does not thank people, does not thank Allah'(Al-Tirmidhi, 1878: 445). Therefore, failing to express appreciation would be unacceptable as it offends God and definitely results in embarrassment, isolating

the person from the group and putting their self-image at risk. This in turn has an adverse effect on social rapport, which is built largely on sharing politeness and mutual respect. In contrast to the English, all Jordanians emphasised their feeling of being aggrieved or less inclined to help in the future as another negative consequence of the interlocutor's failure to show appreciation.

4.4.2 The impact of social and contextual variables on gratitude expression

The participants also revealed a number of social and contextual variables that might influence their gratitude expression style. The data which show that both groups vary in their evaluations of some contextual and social variables are presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4. 2: Contextual and social variables

Subjects	Contextual and social variables					
	Degree of imposition	Social status	Social familiarity	Gender	Age	Personality
English	100%	10%	75%	0%	0%	0%
Jordanians	100%	100%	90%	95%	95%	90%

Both groups of respondents consider the degree of favour and social familiarity as definite sources of influence. In particular, all English and Jordanian participants perceive the degree of the imposition on the person who did the favour as having the most important impact on the communication of gratitude. They said that the degree of gratitude expression should match the favour: the bigger the favour, the greater the appreciation should be. Although overstating gratitude and using various elaborate and embellished gratitude expressions is preferred in response to having received great help, Jordanian and English participants seem to vary in their judgements about the extent to which overstating one's gratitude is acceptable. The English participants reported that they would use the full expression: "*Thank you very much" and/or "I really appreciate that*", or they seldom repeat a gratitude expression, while Jordanian participants emphasised that

they would use diverse strategies such as "شكرا لك جزيلا" , 'ʃukran lak dʒazi:lan', '*Thank you very much'*, "لا أستطيع أن أشكركم بما فيه الكفايه" , 'la: astatˤi:ʕ >an aʃkurakum bima: fi:h alkifa:jah', '*I can't thank you enough'*, "هذا لطف منك" , 'haða: lutˤfak mink', *'This is really kind of you*', as well as using a repetition, and adverbs of degree to convey the extent of their gratitude, along with *religious formulae in the form of a supplication* (e.g. "جزاك الله", 'dʒaza:k Allah', *'May Allah reward you*') and stating the addressee's names and titles.

Despite emphasising the probable impact of social familiarity, the two groups had different perceptions concerning appropriate stylistic choices and the need for conveying gratitude in various social contexts, as shown in the Table 4.3.

Table 4. 3: Communication of gratitude in diverse social contexts

Subjects	**Social contexts of gratitude expression**			
	Family	Friends	Service encounters	Formal encounters
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Jordanians	40%	45%	20%	100%

Table 4.3 shows that gratitude expression is not frequently expressed among Jordanian family members and friends. In other words, all participants pointed out that the closer the relationship is, the less gratitude is expected and expressed. Moreover, 16 Jordanian participants reported that it is culturally not obligatory to express gratitude to people in service encounters and that most people, especially those with a lower level of education, would rarely convey gratitude to, say, a grocery store worker, a bus driver, or a cashier. However, all participants affirmed the necessity to convey gratitude to unfamiliar people with whom they have a formal relationship, although the degree of gratitude expressed differs from one situation to another. Furthermore, any gratitude expression in such service encounter situations should be kept brief and consist of only the most essential formulaic gratitude expressions such as "يسلمو" 'jslamu:' ("Thanks") or nonverbal

“raise a hand up”. They also added that people working in such jobs do not expect others to convey gratitude to them.

Expressing gratitude is very common among English family members, friends and people in service encounters. All of them would convey gratitude regardless of the thankee’s occupation or familiarity with the thanker. However, eighteen English participants said that they would go into detail when expressing gratitude to a familiar person, as opposed to a stranger, unless there is a high degree of imposition, in which case they would try to repay the stranger for his or her kindness in some way, most likely by offering a small sum of money.

Table 4.2 also shows a remarkable difference in considering the influence social status on communicating gratitude. All Jordanian participants stated that they would give more attention when conveying gratitude to a high status person than people of lower status. This could be referred to as absolute social status, which means that one would express gratitude more elaborately to people of high status, regardless of whether their status is higher than one's own. For example, titles and names such as *“Professor Omar”* should be used in addition to elaborate gratitude expressions. In contrast, nineteen English participants said that both high status persons and persons of lower or equal status would receive the same degree of verbal gratitude.

However, all English and Jordanian participants emphasised that an unfamiliar or a high social status person should be thanked in a formal way, e.g. by saying: *“Thank you very much” "I appreciate that”* smiling and sometimes more formally by shaking hands. Expressing gratitude to a friend is typically informal: *“Cheers” “Thanks”, “Thanks a lot”, “Ta”* or only using adjectives such as *“Brilliant” or “Great”* and their equivalents in Arabic. Furthermore, while the words *“Appreciate”* and “*Thanks”* can be used by English participants interchangeably regardless of familiarity, some Jordanians highlighted the formality of the word *‘Appreciate’*(“ أقدر”, ‘>udqadir’) which is mostly used in more formal situations, e.g. when conveying gratitude to one’s boss, rather than, say, one’s friend.

In contrast to the English participants, Jordanians highlighted the considerable effect of the interlocutor's personality, gender and age on their gratitude expression style, as shown in Table 4.2. In particular, 18 participants mentioned that they would go further in their gratitude expression, e.g. initiating small talk, (introducing themselves) and suggesting establishing future relationships or even talking about their future expectations only if they know in advance that the addressee is friendly and eager to adapt to other participants in social situations. 16 interviewees also revealed that they express gratitude to older people more than children who are seldom thanked and mostly by making nominal compliments, such as "Good boy". 19 Jordanians said that males express gratitude to each other less than females do to each other.

4.4.3 The perception of the preferred type and number of gratitude expression

We now turn to perceptions relating to the type of gratitude expressions used in the two cultures. The English participants seem to differ significantly from the Jordanians in terms of strategy's types and number and ways of communicating gratitude, as shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4. 4: Gratitude expression type, ways and number

Subjects/ Gratitude expression strategies	Types of the communication of gratitude		Preferred ways of expressing gratitude	Preferred number of strategies
	Verbal strategies	Nonverbal strategies		
English	Direct (Thanking, appreciation, repayment) 100%	- Smiling-shaking hands, high tone, kissing, eye contact (90%) - "Thumb up", "Hand up", "Flash lights" (20%)	- Send emails/ phone messages or calling (75%) - Gifts (70%)	Short gratitude expression semantic formula is adequate 100%

Jordanians	A mixture of direct and indirect (the above besides compliments, religious formulae in the form of a supplication , small talk, apology, using titles…) 85%	- Restricted smiling, shaking hand, high tone (85%) - "Thumb up", "Hand up" "Flash lights" (55%) - "Nodding their heads" with putting a hand on the chest (35%)	- Face- face is preferred (85%) - Offering food, especially (at home) 100%	Lengthy gratitude expression (intensified and repeated) semantic formula is required (90%)

While all English participants appeared to prefer simple gratitude expression and direct communication of gratitude expression such as *"Thank you very much"* and *"I highly appreciate your help"*, in the Jordanian culture the use of complex direct and indirect gratitude expressions is very common. For example, along with conveying gratitude explicitly, 17 Jordanian participants disclosed their great preference for using implicit expressions such as "غلبناك؟!", "ɣalabna:k" (literally, *'We tire you'*) which is not a question, but a set way of gratitude expression, and "عاجز عن شكرك", 'ʕa:dʒiz ʕan ʃukrik', (literally, *'I am incapable of thanking you'*). They also have a strong preference for expressing their positive feelings, especially complimenting others and praising their actions ("ما هذه الكلمات الرائعة التي كتبتها" 'ma: haðihi alkalima:t alra:'ʕah alati: katabtaha:', *'what wonderful words you have written')* and ("انا ممتنن لك لعملك النبيل للغاية هذا" , '>na: momtanun lak lilɣa:jah liʕamalik anabi:l haða:', *'I am extremely indebted to you for your noble deed").* As opposed to the English, all Jordanian participants also showed a strong preference for using and receiving *religious formulae in the form of blessings and supplications* which include references to Allah' ("God"), such as ("جزاك الله كل خير" 'dʒaza:k Allah kul xjr', *'May God reward you"*)among many other religious expressions which are typical features of their gratitude expression style.

17 participants prefer expressing gratitude by using a mixture of speech acts such as *thanking with a sincere apology and thanking and compliment or even "appreciation, repayment, religious formulae in the form of blessings and*

supplications and apology along with titles when appropriate. From a pragmatic point of view, such expressions enable speakers to genuinely and sincerely express their feelings of gratitude, because they are more informative as they provide (additional) reasons for conveying gratitude.

15 English participants stated that sending a gratitude expression email or phone message is quite common, and is accepted in their culture. In contrast to the English participants, 17 Jordanians revealed that they should go in person to convey their gratitude instead of sending a "thank you" email message or phoning, which is sometimes considered impolite. Unlike the English, all Jordanians revealed that offering food, especially to an unfamiliar and high status person who has been helpful, (e.g. inviting them to dinner) is culturally favoured as a sign of hospitality, especially in situations where merely giving a present may be deemed impolite. However, 14 English participants indicated that they would offer gifts to return a favour to someone they know only superficially, especially if the favour was great. However, lavish gift-giving to less familiar people is deemed inappropriate.

Table 4.4 shows that both cultures also differ in the degree of gratefulness, the way and the extent to which they show their gratitude. While 18 Jordanians prefer various lengthy, repetitive, intensified, expressions to match the degree of gratefulness and show sincere appreciation, all the English participants would generally accept *"Thank you"* or *"Thank you very much"* as an adequate expression of appreciation. It seems that the English participants do not consider repetition a way to show gratitude. They also use intensifiers (such as 'very' and 'deeply') to a lesser extent than Jordanians.

Furthermore, the majority of participants in both groups also greatly emphasised the importance of the way gratitude is expressed, highlighting the significance of the accompanying tone of voice, facial expressions and body language. These can help differentiate between real appreciation and hypocrisy (when body language accidentally does not match the words) or sarcastic gratitude expression (where the mismatch is evidently intentional). The former are often insincere expressions

of gratitude, while the latter are expressions of gratitude which are used to perform some other speech act (e.g. to blame with ridicule and scorn). 15 English and 18 Jordanian participants consider the importance of non-verbal gratitude expressions (such as a smile and high tone, kissing, and shaking hands). They are good signs accompanying verbal gratitude expressions in some conversations in the Jordanian context, especially in mixed-gender gratitude expression. Unlike the English participants, the Jordanians stated that facial expressions accompanying the hearer's response for receiving gratitude expression could help them tell whether their gratitude expressions have been accepted or not. For example, if they seem disheartened, then the gesture is seen as too small, but if they seem surprised then the gesture is seen as very big. Furthermore, 11 Jordanian and 4 English participants highlighted the significance of signs such as patting on the arm within familiar contexts and *"Thumbs up", "Hand up", and "Flash lights"* when it is impossible to convey gratitude verbally, as in the case of driving on the motorway. Only 7 Jordanians mentioned that *"nodding their heads"*, sometimes along with *"putting hands up" or putting hands on the chest or head* or even *"bending their body"*, are used to communicate a high degree of gratitude.

A major difference between the two cultures concerns handshaking and eye-contact. While 18 English participants reported that these actions which accompany gratitude expression are highly valued in the English society as indicators of politeness, in the Jordanian culture they are not only insignificant, but are also inappropriate, especially in mixed-gender interaction, and are even considered impolite in many situations.

4.4.4 The perception of awkwardness and misunderstanding in gratitude expression

Concerning feeling awkward in the expression of gratitude, different ideas were expressed. Most English participants don't believe that they would feel awkward when expressing gratitude, whereas 2 English participants reported that awkwardness may arise due to being unsure of someone's attitude of giving the help, the high degree of imposition, shyness and reluctance because of

unfamiliarity, inability to repay the favour (paying a large bill), and receiving too much gratitude for a small favour. 4 English participants highlighted that shaking hands and establishing eye-contact are expected signs of showing gratefulness and may also cause embarrassment. In particular, they feel embarrassed when Muslim women or Muslim men avoid shaking hands and tracking eyes with English men and English women respectively while thanking them. They find it offensive because they take it to mean that the thankee has not paid attention to them (i.e. not fully in communication with them) and does not value their expression of gratitude, is unhappy with their way of expressing gratitude and may perceive their communication of gratitude as insincere, though the thankee may consider it a sign of respect for the thanker. From the participants' (thankers) viewpoint, maintaining eye-contact is important because it makes the thankee feels that he/she is being respected and appreciated, it also helps them gather feedback on the other thankee's perception of the way they are thanked, and their reaction toward it. Furthermore, three English respondents were of the view that elaborate thanking for being served over the counter could be considered excessive and inappropriate, causing awkwardness, a mere "Thank you" or "Cheers" is all that is expected.

However, 16 Jordanians pointed out that awkwardness arises when they don't know very well how they should express gratitude to an unfamiliar or a higher status person who has spent a lot of his/her time helping out of the goodness of their heart and/or compromised their high social status in order to be helpful. In other words, they are afraid that their thanking might not match the expected one. For 9 Jordanians, forgetting the favour giver's name/title might also cause awkwardness, especially when thanking a high status person. Like the English, 11 Jordanian participants stated that expressing gratitude more than what is socially expected in service encounters could be considered inappropriate and thus cause awkwardness where nothing or only one word such as "يسلمو", 'jslamu:', "thanks" is sometimes anticipated.

Most Jordanians and English participants agreed that conveying gratitude is expected not to cause misunderstanding, although the situation and the relationships between the interlocutors do play a role in how the expression of gratitude is perceived. 3 English and 7 Jordanians added that the tone of expressing gratitude is of a great importance. For example, thanking in an offhand way or grudgingly may cause offence, as it may be taken to indicate that the thanker is merely fulfilling a social obligation and is not sincere, even if this was not the speaker's intention. This may damage the rapport between the speaker and the hearer and make communication more difficult or cause it to break down completely. 10 English participants emphasised that expressing gratitude more than appropriate may result in misunderstanding as it appears insincere. That it was not appropriate to express more gratitude than is necessary according to social conventions and more than the hearer might expect in light of the favour given and the social relationship between them. This, in turn, may lead them to question their motivations as conveying gratitude sincerely and as socially required or personally expected is needed to maintain good rapport.

In contrast to the English participants, 15 Jordanians said that expressing inadequate short thanking for receiving a big favour might be considered a reason for misunderstanding. From their own perspective, the less informative expression of gratitude in this case could signify that the speaker is insensitive, insincere, or even ungrateful to the favour he/she received. This in turn might affect the social rapport between the participants.

1 English participant also added that "expressing thanks for something you didn't like" may cause misunderstanding as they will do the same for you in the future, as in the case of "buying you some food you didn't like". The participant added that avoiding eye contact and shaking hands could also cause misunderstanding. 8 Jordanians and 6 English participants emphasised that expressing gratitude ironically might also cause misunderstanding if the hearer views it negative rather than amusing. Even mild irony might be viewed by some type of people as

offensive because irony always conveys the attitude of ridicule and scorn and people who take offence even at mild ridicule and scorn are inflexible.

4.4.5 Discursive communicative functions of "Thank You"

Cross-cultural differences also appear in the functions of saying "thank you" as shown in table 4.5 below.

Table 4. 5: Functions of "thank you"

	Functions of "thank you"							
Subjects	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
British	100%	80%	100%	5%	30%	25%	35%	80%
Jordanians	100%	65%	100%	45%	60%	0%	90%	10%

Note: a= appreciation; b=accepting and refusing an offer; c= answering a query; d= opening or ending a conversation; e= sarcasm; f =Go away; g= positive reinforcement; h= quick and automatic response

The speaker's intended meaning of any natural language expression depends on the context. However, many natural language expressions become conventionally (or at least standardly) associated with certain contexts in which they have relatively stable meanings. The expression "thank you" illustrates this point. Both "thank you" in English and its equivalent in Jordanian Arabic "شكرا لك" , ''ʃukran lak', 'Thank you' are widely used to express the speaker's gratitude to the hearer, though they also have other uses. All Jordanian and English participants revealed that the genuine *"thank you"* is mainly used to express gratefulness, indebtedness and acknowledgment for receiving a major favour. They also stated that "thank you" also serves other functions: accepting and refusing an offer, answering a query, opening or ending a conversation, sarcasm, 'go away', positive reinforcement and finally a quick and automatic response. These communicative

functions could only be identified depending on the situation and the social relationship between the interlocutors.

16 English participants would use ‘Thank you’ when accepting or refusing an offer, whereas only 13 Jordanians stated that they would use it to serve this function. Only 1 English participant stated that it is opening or ending a conversation, albeit with different levels of emotional content, whereas 9 Jordanians would use it to start and end their conversation if this seems to serve their communicative purpose. 12 Jordanian participants and 6 English participants would also use it ironically. Compared to the Jordanians, only 5 English people use “thank you” to mean “go away”, which has a bad connotation of being unhappy with the presented favour. The participants clarified that when ‘thank you’ is used to end the conversation it means goodbye (i.e. to shorten a phrase like 'thank you for your time, you may now leave'). However, it may also mean ‘go away’ when it is used in a heated conversation by someone who is slightly angry, or starting to get angry, as a means to thank you for leaving, prior to the individual actually leaving (they wanted you to leave before they got very angry, yet they are still able to be polite and say 'thank you' in a stern way and point to a door), or once someone turns, they would say 'thank you' to express their gratitude to be able to calm down. This indicates that the speaker is being superficially polite, but he/she regards it as desirable when the hearer should leave because the speaker is in some way dissatisfied with the favour for which thanks are being expressed. The intended interpretation of "thank you" in this use is normally made more salient by the speaker's tone of voice and facial expression, as well as by the context. Importantly, 18 Jordanians and 7 English groups use it for offering positive reinforcement for their addressee. These include assuring the addressees of their future feelings and attitudes and making them feel good when their offer or service is dismissed. The expression “Thank you” could also be only a quick and automatic response to service encounter as stated by 2 Jordanian 16 English. These differences in the Jordanian and English participants' perceptions about the uses of "thank you" suggest that they are standardized differently in the two cultures.

To sum up, the findings reveal similarities and differences in the realisation and perception of gratitude expression in England and Jordan and the data elicited by the DCT and role-play. Both the production and the perception are influenced by the socio-contextual variables. These similarities and differences will be further discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Five: Discussion of the Findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the main findings reported in Chapter Four. The discussion focuses on individual research questions. The findings regarding the similarities and differences in the production of the communication of gratitude between Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and English native speakers, and the extent to which the choice and the frequency of gratitude expression strategies are influenced by social and contextual parameters are discussed in Section 5.2. The similarities and the differences between the pragmatic research instruments employed are discussed in Section 5.3. Finally, Section 5.4 discusses the perception of the gratitude expressions between the cultures of England and Jordan.

5.2 Are there any differences in the communication of gratitude between Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of English in respect of the use of different numbers and types of strategy used for expressing gratitude

The outcomes revealed some similarities and differences between the two groups in the number of strategies used, and although the two groups use the same main strategies, their frequency in each group is different across social situations. This finding is not surprising since the cultures of Jordan and England are markedly different. This variation in the communication of gratitude could also be attributed to the fact that the language used in social interaction carries distinct cultural nuances. This meshes well with Bond, Žegarac and Spencer-Oatey's (2000)

description of a cultural group as having its unique behavioural norms and cultural values which form its identity and the view of culture as a network of causally related public and mental representations.

The results indicate that the conceptualisation and verbalisation of the communication of gratitude differ interculturally, i.e. vary across cultures, namely Jordanian Arabic and English. The results add to the previous literature findings (Apte, 1974; Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986; Cheng, 2005 and Farnia and Suleiman, 2009) showing differences in the communication of gratitude across cultures in terms of the number and type of strategy. This cultural variation which results in diverse preferences of gratitude expressions supports other researchers' findings (Olshtain and Cohen, 1990; Wierzbicka, 1985 and Gass and Selinker, 2008). Based on the present findings, it could be argued, as Ohashi (2008a) does, that it is essential to define gratitude as a universal and culture-specific communicative act in the sense that it encompasses the feeling of gratefulness and also a wide cultural diversity in different languages given that the strategies vary and the cultural values vary, although people might perceive it as a simple speech act. In other words, the cultural specificity is observed at the level of public representations (e.g. language and observable behaviour, and private/mental representations (e.g. ideas/feelings) that accompany the public productions and are largely the cause of those public productions.

5.2.1 H_0 1.1: Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of English do not significantly use different numbers of strategies when expressing gratitude

The results contradict the first null hypothesis as Jordanian participants were found to use more strategies than the English participants to express gratitude. The tendency toward repetition (redundancy) using intensifiers and plenty of formulaic expressions such as titles, further small talk, expressions of feeling and culture-specific *religious formulae in the form of blessings and supplications* and non-religious formulas including good wishes could account for having such

lengthy gratitude expressions. This lengthy expression of gratitude could serve the Jordanian participants' intention to show genuine gratefulness to the hearer. For example, most Jordanians' data contained repeated intensifiers (e.g. thank you, thank you very much, I cannot thank you enough) and a combination of both (e.g. thank you, thank you very, very much) as devices for more gratitude expression intensification. This is not to say that such intensifiers are non-existent in the English data, but they appeared more in the Jordanian data. In fact, this could be ascribed to the Jordanian participants' perception that the longer the gratitude expression is, the greater the thanker's sincerity is as this helps to emphasise the degree of appreciation.

The fact that repetition of gratitude expression communicates great sincerity from the point of view of the Jordanian participants could be explained in light of Grice's Cooperative Principle. This is because the organisation and the interpretation of the speakers' utterances (i.e. repetition of a gratitude expression) are based on a cooperative behaviour shared by all the interlocutors (i.e. Jordanians) that this means sincerity and a great degree of appreciation. In Grice's terms, it could be stated that a cooperative speaker who uses more elaborate (perhaps repetitive) gratitude expressions makes evident the intention to convey some information which would not be conveyed by the less elaborate (less redundant) communicative act. It is reasonable for the hearer to conclude that in this way the speaker intends to inform the hearer of the greater sincerity and the extent of his/her gratitude than would be conveyed by the (less redundant) expressions. This also highlights a strong influence of the cultural beliefs and values on their daily language usage as Jordanians' preference of using various long-winded gratitude expressions, which is more likely to continue beyond the initial gratitude expression, is a sign of politeness.

This result could imply that there could be some restrictions on repeating a verb and a noun of the same derivation adjacent (e.g. "عاجز عن شكرك حق الشكر", 'ʕa:dʒiz ʕan ʃukrik ħaqq alʃukr', 'I am unable to thank you the right thanking', "شكرا شكرا كثير كثير", 'ʃukran ʃukran kθi:r kθi:r', 'Thank you, thank you very very much',) to

each other in English culture and this could further cause confusion to foreigners. This in turn could be a potential source of misunderstanding between different cultures. By contrast, repetition of either a verb or a noun which is derived from the same root in Arabic is grammatically appropriate. The repetition makes the sentence more emphatic. This finding is not surprising as the use of excessive repetition and elaboration (using various strategies) is generally a feature of Arabic discourse (Shouby, 1951; Suleiman, 1973; Nydell, 1987). This is in line with Morsi (2010)'s finding about Egyptian Arabic excessive expression of gratitude as both Egyptian Arabic and Jordanian Arabic share some cultural ethos and religious beliefs. Furthermore, this finding is in line with research conducted on other communicative acts such as apology within Jordanian Arabic culture (Al-Adaileh, 2007). However, this is not to say that because of using more strategies, Jordanians should perceive themselves as more polite than the English since cross-cultural different conceptions of what constitutes politeness should be taken into account.

5.2.2 H_0 1.2: Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of English do not significantly use different types of strategy for expressing gratitude

In this study, significant differences were found in the use of these strategies with varying degrees of indirectness (the extent to which indirect expressions are used to express gratitude) which could establish more decisively how noteworthy this finding is and how this difference should be explained. Thus, the second null hypothesis is rejected.

Whereas the thanking strategy figured in all situations in both languages, other strategies signifying gratitude appear to be situation specific for both cultures. It is evident from the data analysis that an explicit expression of thanking is the most frequently occurring strategy used in responding to getting a favour from others by Jordanians "اشكرك جزيل الشكر / شكرا لك كثيرا" '>aʃkuruk dʒazi:l alʃukr/'ʃukran lak kθi:ran', 'thank you so much', and English "thank you very much" more than any

other strategy. This implies that an explicit thanking expression is always employed when a speaker conveys an acknowledgement of thankfulness of the benefactor. However, the strategy's percentage shows that English are much more likely than Jordanians to use the thanking strategy. One probable account for this difference may be attributed to the frequent use of "thank you" by the English in the their society and to Jordanians' replacement of thanking in some cases by expressions of feelings or by *religious formulae in the form of blessings and supplications* which could in most time be viewed as strongly conveying their feeling of gratitude more than the expressions "thank you". This implies that *thanking* would be the first favoured strategy in several cultures, though its frequency differs due to differences in some culture-specific values.

In addition to formulas explicitly mentioning thanks, the data revealed many other semantic formulae (expression of positive feeling, apology, repayment, appreciation and recognition of the imposition, alerters and other strategies) were used as ways to convey gratitude. As highlighted by Van Ek (1977), cited in Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993: 66), the expression "thank you" expresses an emotional attitude along many other phrases that may also be used by people in expressing gratitude. Though both groups use a variety of these strategies, they differ in their overall frequency of use across all situations, where the Jordanian participants got the higher frequency in using most strategies. The use of many strategies for expressing gratitude could be a sign of the insufficiency of using the *thanking* strategy alone in the Jordanian culture. In other words, the utterance "شكرا", 'ʃukran', 'Thank you' in Arabic by itself is not usually considered an adequate response to getting a favour in an Arabic context as opposed to English in some situations. It seems that the phrase 'Thank you' in English carries a heavier sense of gratefulness/indebtedness than that of "شكرا", "ʃukran" "Thank you" for Jordanians. It could also be because the use of 'thank you' in English is largely a matter of social convention. The Jordanians' preference to use, particularly the subcategory of "*the inability to express their gratitude"* more than the English participants could also indicate the Jordanian's viewpoint of the insufficiency of merely using simple thanking.

However, such utterance needs to be supplemented by additional verbal and non-verbal expressions. This is due to the fact that using such an utterance by itself would sound shallow and cause embarrassment as it may either signal that the person is unhappy and ungrateful of the presented favour or intends to end of the conversation or is even impolite. Native speakers of Jordanian Arabic have a tendency to use the explicit expression of gratitude in conjunction with other implicit expressions. This could be ascribed to their cultural belief that showing gratitude using a variety of ways besides intensifying them by repetition could help a person sound more sincere and polite as the thanker's rejoinder would sound emphatic and sincere rather than being a mechanical, offhand and superficial gratitude expression, and in this way the hearer will easily recognise the thanker's intention. Putting too much effort in using many strategies could show the extent to which the hearer is happy, indebted and grateful toward the received favour. It helps the thanker express or evoke a wealth of affective responses. Due to the fact that caring to save each other's face is significant in the Jordanian Arabic culture, adequate expressing of thanks is highly valued both verbally and nonverbally. This helps satisfy the face wants of both the speaker and the hearer, enable the speaker to show great indebtedness for their interlocutors, maintain the etiquette of their social interaction as well as strengthen positive politeness. This in turn develops and maintains harmonious social relationships.

Significant differences were found in the English high frequency of employing *appreciation* compared to Jordanians who showed a high frequency of using the *positive feeling, alerters, and other strategies (religious formulae in the form of blessings and supplications and showing intent to establish and maintain further relationship)*. The frequency of using *apology* and *recognition of imposition* was found not very significantly different, though Jordanians used *recognition of imposition* more than the English, who used *apology* more than *recognition of imposition*. The English also used repayment more than Jordanians did. The results are in line with findings obtained by Wolfson (1986) showing that strategies distribution and frequencies, forms, rituals and formulaic expressions

seem different across cultures. This may reflect the English belief in the sufficiency of expressing indebtedness to the addressee directly by simply extending their gratitude and appreciation for the favour or its giver and trying to return the favour as a good reaction. It is the recognition of the favour received using any gratitude strategy, not the number of strategies, that symbolises and counts as considerateness and politeness. Pizziconi (2008) also demonstrates that politeness in the British English culture correlates with considerateness. Appreciation appeared to be the least used strategy by Jordanians and significantly used by the English. This could explain by the fact that appreciation is mainly used in formal situations.

Compared to the English, Jordanians seem to prefer using indirect ways of expressing gratitude such as *religious formulae in the form of blessings and supplications*, recognition of social status using alerts, and showing positive feelings toward the addressee, especially the subcategory "the inability to express their positive feeling" in order to show that they are overwhelmed by the favour presented. This is not to say that indirect expressions of gratitude were not used by the English participants, but they were used more by their Jordanian counterparts. This tendency to use a lot of indirect ways of expressing gratitude indicates that the Jordanian participants could be classified as being from a high context culture, as in Hall's (1976) model. In other words, most of the message in a high-context-based communication is either internalised in the person or in the physical context and very little information is coded and explicitly transmitted. In low-context communication, most of the message is coded explicitly (i.e., in the words). Indirectness is a key feature of politeness for members of a high context culture. Tendency toward indirectness could signal a high degree of sincere gratitude expression and is related to social practices, conceptions of truth, and attitudes toward personal life (Katriel, 1986: 113). Indirect gratitude expressions as perceived by Jordanians could help them emphasise and increase the force of politeness because they are viewed as emotionally rich and help to create and evoke emotional resonance. They are considered courtesy and face-saving features which are more important for members of high context cultures than low-

context culture. However, this result is in contrast with Brown and Levinson's theory which labels a culture to be either direct or indirect because people of the same culture may tend to use both depending on the context and their perception of what constitutes politeness. It should be noted that directness in expressing gratitude should not be equated with impoliteness as suggested by Brown and Levinson (1987); rather, it is based on participants' judgments about communicative acts in the conversation.

Despite not committing any offence that requires an apology, the results revealed that both groups resort to the use of apologies to express gratitude. This could be because of the imposition caused as a result of the favour. In particular, they intend to show speaker's indebtedness for receiving a benefit and an apology and indebtedness for any obligation or harmful action caused. It could also be ascribed to the concern of the essentiality of showing empathy, acknowledging the imposition caused and discourse-organisational as starting and ending an exchange is very sensitive and difficult. Regardless of the relation amongst gratitude expression and apologies, the frequencies of using apology were found higher for Jordanians more for the English. This could further lead to the point highlighted by Nakia and Watanabe (2000) that expressing apology in gratitude expression situations in English may be relatively restricted; i.e. when receiving a great favour which involves taking too much time from people and interfering in others' affairs. Their apology was mostly followed by stating the reason for being indebted ('I am sorry for taking so much time from you). This indicates the thankers' intention to be polite and inform the thankee that they understand and appreciate his/her help and time which is not taken for granted. The use of gratitude strategies could be explained in light of Brown and Levinson's positive face and negative face bearing in mind the cultural variability where positive face refers to the appreciated and approved self-image (i.e. using strategies such as "I highly appreciate that" and "This is really kind of you"); the negative face refers to the individual's desire to be free from imposition and not to be hindered by others (i.e. using strategies such as "I am sorry for disturbing you", and "I know that I have disturbed you".

With respect to the Jordanian participants, the use of the apologetic gratitude expression could be related to their intention to show more "debt-sensitiveness" particularly in situations when dealing with high status people even when there is no explicit imposition, as in the *Recommendation letter* situation. This inclination could also be explained by Kotani's (2002) justification as speakers use apology to show and express the dual effect and mixed feelings of gratefulness and indebtedness to the hearer. It could also be explained in light Brown and Levinson's assumption that any social encounter involves communicative acts that could be threatening to the face of the speaker or the addressee. Thus, speakers are expected to use appropriate means to save their self-image successfully. Jordanian participants were more likely than their English counterparts to intensify their apologies to high status people. Jordanians employed emotional exclamatory words such as "اوه", 'Oh', "واو" 'wow', adverbs such as "جدا"" 'dʒidan', "كثير", 'kθi:ran', 'very', along with repeated conventional apologetic expressions in the same expression (e.g. "انا اسف جدا جدا",', '>ana: a:sif dʒidan dʒidan', 'I am very very sorry' , " ارجو المعذره على الازعاج", '>ardʒu: almaʕðirah ʕala: alizʕa:dʒ' , 'Please do forgive me for any disturbance'). Besides that they tend to accompany this with an account of the imposition and justification along with blaming oneself and showing embarrassment (e.g. "I am so sorry but I did not know it will take that long time", "I should not have asked you to do it, you know I am really embarrassed"). This finding could be attributed to Jordanians' belief that this emphatic apology could signify sincere apologies which often mean an unequivocal expression of accountability, indebtedness, and sincere gratitude expression. This result meshes with the literature on Jordanians where AL-Issa (2003) found Jordanians were more likely to express apology than Americans. The apologetic gratitude expression was also found in results obtained by Coulmas (1981: 73) and Eisenstein and Bodman (1993: 70) to mitigate the negative consequences of the favour.

Another significant disparity among both groups is the use of other strategies, particularly *religious formulae in the form of blessings and supplications*, showing intent to establish and maintain relationships, and initiating small talk.

Religious formulae in the form of blessings and supplications seem to be culture-specific as it was mostly found in Jordanian gratitude expressions and absent from English native gratitude expression. In this study, non-English speakers outwardly issued benediction in either of the scenarios. This difference could be attributed to the influence of culture, including religious orientation and thought patterns. This emphasises the fact that religion plays a great role in many cultures, one of which is Jordanian Arabic culture, especially the Holy Name of Allah. This Name is the rich body of religious expressions and forms a unique feature of the Arabic language and thus forms its cultural, linguistic and religious identity. This could indicate that both the Muslim faith and the Arabic language are often regarded as intertwined and inseparable parts of the Arab-Muslim identity. It could further presuppose some assumptions about the nature of the relation between language and culture. Since Arabic is the Holy Quran's language, it has a great effect on its speakers. The difference was also highlighted in Jordanian apologies (Hussein and Hammouri, 1998). This result seems to bear some similarity with other Arabic gratitude expression studies (Morsi, 2010). This could indicate that they have strong religious faith which Hetherington (1998:49) explains as follows: "a religion is both a chosen feature of a lifestyle and one intended to give voice to emotions and mirror a response to it".

The findings indicate that the use of address forms and the rules for their interpretations and usage vary across cultural situations and their correlated purposes and variables due to different abided social and cultural rules. Jordanians used them significantly more than the English. Thus, Philipsen and Huspecks (1985) observe that these forms are sociolinguistic features par excellence. This further indicates that using these address forms is a fundamental social phenomenon in the Jordanian Arabic context. The high frequency of address terms, in situations such as *recommendation letter, FedEx, paper extension* as well *direction,* ties closely to the socio-cultural variable of social status and social familiarity. In Jordanian society, social status plays a significant role in the use of terms of addresses. This could be ascribed to the distinctive Jordanian social structure and cultural values attached to it compared to the English society which,

according to Wierzbicka (1991) is based on super-egalitarianism. It further implies that formality, deference and politeness are favoured in the highly stratified Jordanian culture. Most of these forms were preceded by the calling particular "ja:" such as "يا اختي", 'ja: >uxti:', 'my sister". The titles of "Prof." and many others are extensively employed in Jordanian social situations as they sound more prestigious to signify respect of the interlocutor's status and achieve smooth and effective communication. Compared to the English where using the names only would be acceptable and polite, this would be totally the opposite even sometimes between people who are very familiar with each other. Calling each other by names might sometimes be viewed as impolite. Names are usually replaced by titles, titles and names, or endearment terms such as "Abo Mohammad" "Mohmamd's father" or "Engineer Osama", and "Prof. Ahmad". Using the surname is the normal address terms among English participants and using titles does not seem that much significant. This switch the participants make between formal and informal address styles could, as Mills (2011) argues, imply their awareness of their social roles in relation to their interlocutors. This emphasises the claim of (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, and Gu,1990) that alerters are not only utilised to alert the interlocutors' attention to the ensuing speech act but also to confirm recognition and acknowledgment of the social roles and status, signalling the social relationship ties between them and functioning as attitudinal signals of politeness or rudeness. On the other hand, failing to use what (Brown and Ford, 1961) call "no naming "strategy or even inappropriate use of such forms leads to inadvertent insults, thus miscommunication. In other words, the way a person uses these terms to accommodate the notion of modesty, attitudinal warmth, and respectfulness determines the extent to which they are seen by others as polite or bad-mannered. This finding affirms Janicki's (1985) statement regarding the negative attitude and uncongenial reaction generated by the mishandling of the address forms system.

In light of Haverkate's (1988) perception, gratitude is expressed as a reactive action serving to restore equilibrium in the cost-benefit relation among the thanker and thankee. Thus, participants resort to offering different repayment types. This

implies that both consider it vital for socialising to a greater extent in the Jordanian Arabic culture. The relation between the notion of reciprocity and expressing gratitude has been highlighted by Komter (2004: 210) who indicates that "gratitude is the in-between connecting gift and return gift which together with expressing gratitude constitutes the principle of reciprocity". Situations which necessitate expressing gratitude are face threatening act situations since they are favour asking situations which underlie a degree of imposition because they involve asking for getting something done outside the addressee's daily routine which is sometimes costly (Brown and Levinson 1987:13-15). Thus, this implies the reciprocity notion regarding a return favour. Though no significant differences were found, the English appeared to use more repayment strategies than the Jordanians and both differed in their preferred subcategories. This could be explained by the fact that Jordanians find no need sometimes in some situations (very high familiar and very high status situations) to offer repayment, such as in the *in a restaurant* or even class notes situation or it could be because Jordanian in general value receiving *blessings and supplications* more than a physical repayment. This is further supported by the fact that they do generally reply to the thanker by saying "We only need your *blessings and supplications*" or "Remember us in your prayer". The English participants used more the offer of reciprocating the help and promising future self-restraint and improvement. Jordanians in general prefer to invite the benefactor even a high status or unfamiliar person for a special traditional meal (at home) more than bringing a present or merely verbally reciprocating the help. Food in their culture is an acceptable contribution toward the favour they receive, powerful in wiping off the imposition incurred on the person and a sign of respect and appropriate repayment instead of giving money back. This could also highlight the impact of religion on their thought patterns, particularly the prophet's saying: "the best people are those who feed and greet other people". On the other hand, the English may find it really unusual to invite anyone, particularly a stranger, into their home for food.

Though there is strong agreement as to the relative importance of compliments (expressing positive feeling), there is cross-cultural variation in the frequency of

their use. In contrast to English, Jordanians significantly used the *positive feeling* strategy, especially expressing an inability to articulate positive deep feelings and excessively complimenting the thankee on the presented favour to emphasise the sincerity of their gratitude and attribution of some credit to the thanker and for the favour given. Though this is in general valued positively, especially in the Jordanian culture, it could be the other way cross-culturally. This could be imputed to the fact that the Arab culture is a high context culture and attributing some credit to the thanker helps maintain solidarity among the interlocutors. Katriel (1986) views Arabic communication style as sweet talk. This could be because it is based on the cultural ethos of Musayara which means ‘”metaphorically ‘going with’ the other, on humouring, on accommodating oneself to the position or situation of the other” and “reflects a concern for harmonious social relations and for the social regulation of interpersonal conduct” (Katriel, ibid: 111). This “going with” reflects their indirect style of communication that is perceived by Katriel’s informants as “in the blood of every Arab person” (Katriel, ibid: 111). This could account for having more exaggerated compliments in the Jordanian’s gratitude expression than in that of the English.

The act of swearing was only found to preface gratitude expressions in the Jordanians’ data. In fact, swearing in Arabic culture, particularly Jordanian culture is a common interaction feature that often precedes most types of communicative acts. Abdel-Jawad (2000:217) defines swearing as “the invocation of the divine powers for backing what one has said or done”. Abdel-Jawad argues that it “has retained its original form and function in the Arab world but has not developed the western senses of imprecation, cursing, blasphemy, or the like” (ibid: 218). Swearing was used in combination with some gratitude strategies *thanking* (“والله انني عاجز عن شكرك”, ‘wa Allah <ini: ʕa:dʒiz ʕan ʃukrik’,‘By the name of Allah, I am unable to thank you’’), *apology* (“والله اني متاسف كثير كثير”, ‘wa Allah <ini: mut>sif kθi:r kθi:r’,‘By the name of Allah, I am very much very much sorry’), *positive feeling* (“والله انك على راسي”, ‘wa Allah <inak ʕala: rasi:’,‘By the name of Allah, You are on my head’(show high respect)), *repayment* (“والله لازم تتفضل معنا على الغداء”, ‘wa Allah la:zim tatafadˁdˁal’ maʕana: ʕala: alɣada’, ‘By the name of

Allah, you have to come to dine with us'), *recognition of impositions* ("والله لو بعرف انه يأخذ وقت وجهد كبير ما كنت طلبتك تصلحه" , 'wa Allah law kunt baʕraf >inuh jaxið waqit wa dʒuhid kabi:r ma kunt tʿalabtak tusʿliħuh', 'By the name of Allah, if I had known that it would take long time and great efforts, I would not have asked you to fix it'). Swearing was mainly used as a way to intensify gratitude expressions. This is because it confirms truthfulness and sincerity "والله اني عاجز عن شكرك" 'wa Allah ʕa:dʒiz ʕan ʃukrak', 'By the name of Allah, I am unable to thanking you'), substantiates the thanker's pure intent to restore equilibrium in the cost-benefit relation between thanker and thankee "والله مهما اقدم فلن أقدر على رد معروفك" 'wa Allah mahma: uqadim falan >aqdir ʕala: rad maʕru:fik', 'By the name of Allah, whatever I present/give, I will not be able to repay your favour') and the thanker's lack of intent to impose on the thankee "والله لم أرد ان ازعجك معي" ,'wa Allah lam >urid >an >uzʕidʒak maʕi:', 'By the name of Allah, I did not want to bother you'). Although swearing is expected to only be performed by using the word (والله (*wa Allah)*, by God), some people might use other words such as (ورحمة ابوي *wa raħmat aboj*, by the soul of my father), (وحياة اولادي, wa raħma*t awla:di:*, by the life of my children), only the word (والله (*wa Allah)*, by God) was observed in the present study data. The swearing acts observed in this study are mainly religious swearing expressions realised by mentioning the word Allah (God). The other expressions are mainly used by Jordanians in situations which mainly trigger the communicative act of apology as a remedy for any committed offence. Abdel-Jawad (2000) notes the socio-pragmatic impact of swearing in Jordanian culture, referring to the impact of religion and socio-cultural factors on communicative acts behaviour.

The comparison was also done in each situation for each group. The number and type of gratitude expressions vary from one situation to another for both groups. The significant differences found between both cultural groups in the number and the types of strategy used in each of the situations considered could be accounted for by the fact that cultures do vary in their evaluations of the impact of the social and contextual variables on the performance of the communicative act. This indicates that these variables determine the strategies to be used and the speaker's

linguistic (lexical and syntactic) choices. For example, in the first situation, the English used thanking, positive feelings and repayment when expressing gratitude to their friend significantly more than Jordanians who tended to use the 'other strategies' specifically *religious formulae in the form of blessings and supplications* and alerts strategies. This could be explained by saying that Jordanians may believe that there is no need to explicitly use these strategies (e.g. positive feelings and repayment) as they are implicit in such social exchanges. This is mainly because of the strong relationship that ties them and entails that helping each other is a duty rather than an imposition. The significant differences appeared in the last situation at the number and type of strategies could be a very interesting example. While the English participants were more concerned about being on time, Jordanians' attention was directed to the respect they should pay when conversing with a person of a high social class. It is considered out of courtesy to spend some time with the lecturer and invite him/her to join you and even apologise in case of disturbance. It is normal in the Jordanian culture in such situation for the student to introduce themselves and show intention to establish a further relationship. On the other hand, English people may not find it polite to disturb others in the street for a long time or even show intent to strengthen the relationship. In FedEx situation, it should be noted that though Jordanians tended to offer repayment, they particularly avoided offering money in contrast to the English, as this could be viewed as impolite. Most of the time they resort to the expression "Whatever we do, we can't repay you" to signify their acknowledgment of a big favour, recognition of imposition, respect and save the addressee's face. Postponing and/or offering a repayment in a different shape is purposely intended not to be considered a "one to one" basis. Likewise, in the third situation, Jordanians' use of recognition of imposition might be ascribed to the their view of money as a critical, sensitive issue and repayment is not considered as one-to–one situation

The differences in the number and type of strategy were mainly found in the fifth, sixth, and eight. This could be explained by differences in the evaluation of the imposition and social familiarity in light of the social status. This finding is in line

with Katriel (1986) who noted the importance of status in Arabic culture, indicating that for Arabs generally lowering in social hierarchy is usually essential to show deference to the one higher up. The use of the apology strategy is also worth noticing as it was used more by Jordanians in these situations. This could indicate that Jordanians are more sensitive to face threatening acts, especially when dealing with high social status, while the English tend to be more sensitive to face threatening behaviour in a high imposition situation. This finding is in stark contrast with Brown and Levinson (1978) because it shows that "face" demands the contextual and social variables in terms of judging the FTA seriousness are different across cultures. However, this would on the other hand bear an implicit criticism to Brown and Levinson (1978) who define politeness only as a mitigation of face threat since this finding could be simply explained as Ide (1989) suggests as a recognition of one's position in relation to others' within their social system. Speakers decide on the suitable face strategy they have to use based on the level of concern for face considering the previously mentioned variables. The findings assert not only the fact that some aspects of the communication of gratitude appear universal, but their forms encompass a wide cultural diversity and are subject to the involved culture, but they are also controlled by contextual and social rules. They are also in line with cross-cultural variations of weighting the contextual variables. On the other hand, this could further imply that Brown and Levinson's (1978) politeness orientation model should now be reviewed. In other words, the same culture could be oriented toward positive or negative politeness or both and this depends on a specific situation and variables. In support of Mills (2009), such tendencies are significant in the sense that it is no longer conceivable to merely label a culture as positive or negative politeness-oriented, bearing in mind such positive and negative politeness notions do not mean or function in the same way in different cultures. For example, even if Jordanians showed a tendency to use more positive politeness denoting the need and the consent to get self-image acknowledged as well as to be appreciated by others ("e.g. "هذه مساعده لا تقدر بثمن",'haðihi musa:ʕadah la: tuqadar biθaman', 'This help is inestimable" in some situations such as '*class notes, Booking a hotel,'in a restaurant',* their tendency to use

negative politeness signifying freedom of action and freedom from imposition (e.g. "اكرر اعتذاري على الازعاج", '>ukarir <iʔtiða:ri: ʕala: alizʕa:dʒ', 'I repeat my apologies for the inconvenience') has increased in some other situations mainly due to dealing with high status people and creating a high degree of imposition as in 'FedEx' and 'Computer). The present findings build on Mazid's (2006: 63) finding that "Every culture, every language, has its ways of showing respect and deference, saving face, avoiding or minimizing imposition, and exercising good manners verbally and non-verbally". As a result, ignoring such important issue might result in a reluctance to communicate with the new target culture members or even serious misunderstanding and misjudgment. Moreover, such findings further highlight the importance of such cross-cultural comparative studies to find out the cultural distinctions that might hinder communication exchange between cultures, by this way intercultural communication will be facilitated and strengthened.

5.3 How and to what extent are the data collected by DCTs different from those by role-plays

This section discusses the differences between the pragmatic research instruments, namely DCT and Role-play employed for collecting data in the present study in terms of the number and types of strategy.

5.3.1 Number of strategies yielded from DCT and role-play

The analysis of the results revealed obvious differences between the DCT and the Role-play. The role-play yielded more gratitude expression strategies compared to DCT. This could be because participants normally like and are overly eager to respond by talking. This is because they find it a good easy way of expressing themselves more than writing, which is rather seen as a tiring task. It could be attributed to their inclination to provide more particles, more explanation, and more repetitions. This finding is rather unsurprising as repetition and elaboration are generally natural features of speech more than writing. The DCTs' respondents may also think of the DCT as some formal activity and as a result

may apply more formal language and less repetition. The absence of co-participant to take even a virtual turn might influence the DCT's respondents in a way that they do not feel the need to compensate in a similar way by adding more strategies. The participants were made comfortable, thus they have their own time to respond, thus, this extra time could lead to have a lengthy gratitude expression. Besides, this could be imputed to the virtual interactive nature of the role-play. In other words, the participants also respond as if they are in a real conversation, occasionally giving even more hypothetical turns in their oral responses switching between different gratitude expressing strategies for the same situations than in their written ones where they only have one turn. This feeling could induce them to come up with various, redundant and repetitive gratitude expressions to strength their sincere appreciative intentions. This result is consistent with the findings of Cummings and Beebe (2006) where DCTs' respondents produced more formal language and less repetition (Cummings and Beebe, 2006). The study supports Rintell and Mitchell's (1989) finding that participants exhibit longer responses from the role-play than the written DCT. This further indicates that DCT cannot elicit comprehensive features about a communicative act.

It is noteworthy that though significant differences appeared in the overall number of gratitude expressions for both groups, the frequency shows that the difference between the two strategies appearing in the Jordanians' data is higher than that found in the English data. This could be explained by the fact that Jordanians and Arabs in general are more expressive, repetitive and like talking which might not be the case in other cultures such as the English. This could in turn confirm the results of the first research question.

5.3.2 Types of strategy used in DCT and role-play

Regarding the strategy types, both instruments yielded the same gratitude expression strategies and yet they differed in frequency and complexity. This could be because both the DCT and the role-play are of the same nature rather they differ in the mood of eliciting data. This could be accounted for by the fact that the strategies in participants' mind are similar as they come from the same

educational background bearing in mind also that all the participants underwent both instruments. Another possible explanation for this is that the social situations in both instruments are exactly the same, thus, their linguistic choices are limited and real interaction is not an actual part of them. The fact that DCT respondents also had more time to think about their responses could have led them to produce an additional politeness strategy such as appreciation in NSsA data. This is a very interesting finding as it could refute the criticism of DCT and further suggest that the DCT is useful to inform about participants' pragmalinguistic knowledge of the linguistic forms (strategies) by which the communication of gratitude can be implemented and reveal their sociopragmatic knowledge of the contextual variables under which specific strategies are appropriate. However, in general, most strategies were used in both instruments, but to some extent the participants showed some elaboration in role-plays more than DCTs which could account for the interpretation of the previous finding regarding the number of strategies elicited from both instruments. It is noteworthy that the role-play was found better than the DCT in giving insights about the communication of emotions through the participants' facial expressions and tone of voice. Though they are not the focus of this study, the thanker's facial expressions and tone of voice also give indication of the extent to which the speaker feels obliged to express gratitude to the hearer. This further indicates the importance of understanding facial expressions and tone of voice as a helpful way to understand communicative acts. This could be linked to the participants' perception that in many situations, where the words could have little meaning compared to the actual tone of voice and body language (see Section 4.4.3). For example, expressions such as 'wow' 'oh' only appeared in role-plays not in DCTs. The act of swearing (e.g. "والله اني عاجز عن شكرك", 'wa Allah <ini: ʕa:dʒiz ʕan ʃukrik', 'By the name of Allah, I am unable to express my thankfulness for what you presented/did', 'By the name of Allah, I am unable to thank you' "والله انك أ صيل", 'wa Allah <inak >asʕi:l', 'By the name of Allah, you are well-bred', explained earlier in Section (5.2.2), also appeared only in role-plays in the Jordanian's data. Besides that, the emphasis Jordanians tend to place on some gratitude expressions by repeating the same word once or twice was observed more in role-plays more than DCTs. Naturally occurring speech

tends to entail faster processing of communicative acts which may be the reason behind more repetitive gratitude formulae and an accumulation of various types of politeness strategies. These findings could further imply that DCT generates more hearer-oriented responses, whereas role-play provides more impersonal responses.

Significant differences only appear between the two instruments in both groups' data in the strategies featuring natural data, namely positive feeling, alerts, and other strategies (*religious formulae in the form of blessings and supplications*, small talk). This is most likely accounted for by the fact that the role-play yielded oral data that is very similar to the natural occurring data in which people repeat and extend the expression of feeling trying to emphasise the feeling of being overwhelmed by the favour. Such data cannot be easily sensed in the DCT writing mode.

This finding is consistent with the outcomes of Eisenstein and Bodman (1993) and Sasaki 1998; Kasper and Rose, 2002; Rasekh, and Alijanian, (2012) s' where both instruments yielded the same words and expressions, though they differed in frequency and complexity. They found the DCT data the shortest and least complex, the role-play data the longer, more complex and varied. This could further indicate that role-plays are a good representation of the natural speech's features. Thus, the present researcher argues that the role-play method is better than the written DCT to elicit data showing natural communicative acts' characteristics. The findings go with the results found by (Turnbull, 2001 and Rintal and Mitchell, 1989) that oral data eliciting methods meet four criteria of good pragmatic elicitation techniques such as generating data that are, to some extent, illustrative of natural speech (the emotion, and intonation) which cannot be generated using written DCTs, facilitate controlling social variables, and being ethical. The finding is in line with Yuan (2001) who found the oral DCTs yielding more naturalistic speech features than its equivalent written DCT.

However, the finding is inconsistent with Ling-Li and Wannaruk (2008) who did not find significant differences between the two instruments in terms of strategy types, but he found written DCT yielding longer sentences. This result also

contrasts with the finding brought by Edmondson and House (1990) where responses were longer and more verbose on DCTs not in role-plays. The contrast in findings could be accounted for by the differences in the research design, communicative acts under investigation and the number of participants. In other words, the use of different subjects with different research tasks and collecting data from the native speakers and non-native speakers may introduce a confounding variable in the study.

The present findings can contribute to the discussion of the controversy of pragmatic research instruments. They imply that the debatable issue of which data collection instrument is the right one should not highlight the importance of one instrument and play down the value of others, as it is not always acceptable. The findings indicate that selecting a data collection method for a certain study mainly depends on the research aims. Due to the differences found between both instruments and the advantages and drawbacks of each instrument, the researcher recommends a combination of both instruments as a preferable choice to describe the realisation patterns of a specific communicative act of a certain language as well as bring out an extended spontaneous oral response that normally occurs in authentic discourses. Thus, this combination is more effective as it can merge the advantages of both methods by realising the desirable aim of eliciting spontaneous data in controlled settings. Highlighting that the hitherto unfulfilled purpose of pragmatics research methodologies of achieving data- controlled elicitation that is equivalent to real-life performance, the combination is a good step in the right direction. Thus, using both DCT and role-play can: (a) yield enough data that are comparable to natural data, and quantitative to enable drawing generalisation (b) inform about speakers' pragmalinguistic knowledge of linguistic forms (the strategies), (c) reveal their sociopragmatic knowledge of the contextual variables under which specific strategies are appropriate and (d) be a remedy for the problem of lack of practicality related to tape-recording real-life data in pragmatics research, and (e) be easy to administer. Above all, using a combination of data collection instruments could help account for the groups' variation. In other words, using the DCT only for eliciting data from the Jordanian

participants may not help us gain a clear picture of their perception of gratitude expression, particularly because they find themselves more expressive in speech than in writing. These findings are found to support some other researchers' views (Labov, 1972; Brown and Yule, 1983) who call for using a diversity of research methods justifying that favour one pragmatics data collection instrument at the expense of the others and as the only one that could elicit the accurate data is merely a dangerous tendency among researchers.

5.4 Do Jordanian Native Speakers of Arabic and Native Speakers of English perceive the Communication of Gratitude in Different Ways

The results showed that each native group was consistent in its use of gratitude expressions in relation to cultural norms and values. This supports Eisenstein and Bodman's (1986:172) notion of the "mutually-shared script" among the members of the same group and Hymes' (1972) view that each speech community has its own preferred means of articulating and expressing particular ideas which are embedded in conventions of language use shared by its members.

5.4.1 The perception of the significance of gratitude expression

The present findings confirm the culture- specificity of gratitude expression. It is evident that expressing gratitude is common, significant and necessary in both cultures. This is because of their belief that conveying gratitude is courteous and helps to reinforce good behaviours and express greatfulness to people who appreciate being respected and receiving recognition of their actions, time and efforts. This finding is consistent with Leech (1983) and Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) who point out that gratitude expression is a type of communicative act used frequently to signal politeness.

However, the way it is realised is different cross-culturally. Though sharing such notions, they appeared distinctive and vary in their gratitude expression viewpoints, style and judgement of its appropriateness in light of the social and contextual variables due to different cultural emphasis. For example, gratitude

expression for English is a sign of manners and social etiquette which are extremely important elements of English societal and cultural perception as common courtesies. This result is in line with Hinkel's (1994) view of gratitude expression as fulfilling a social expectation, as the focus of early upbringing and education of children in England focuses on the importance of expressing gratitude and learning polite behaviour, in general, because failing to express gratefulness is seen as a sign of rudeness and ingratitude. As Kumar (2001) observes, being deprived of deserved appreciation results in feeling cheated and betrayed.

Jordanian participants emphasised the powerful impact that expressing or failing to express appreciation has on establishing and keeping good relationships with others. This is due to the fact that they value showing care for the feelings of others, so behaving politely is very important for establishing, maintaining and enhancing social relationships in the Jordanian culture (as well as in other Arab societies). Thus, failure to show gratitude would most likely lead to the feeling of reluctance to help others and have relationships with them in the future. This result is in line with the finding of El-Sayed (1989) and Intachakra (2004) that gratitude expression helps engender and keep closer and stronger social relationships. It establishes on-going social reciprocity and cohesive group membership ties in a society. Samarah (2010) points this out as a remarkable difference between Arabic and Western societies, as Arab people seem to be more concerned about saving other's face and establishing on-going social relationships. This is consistent with Hofstede's (1991) Individualism-Collectivism dimension of culture. In collectivist societies, people are incorporated into strong and cohesive in-groups, so it is to be expected that linguistic politeness, including gratitude expression, should play a major role in strengthening social cohesion. Scollon and Scollon (1995) point out that the main concern in collectivistic cultures is for the effects of individuals' actions on their group, as opposed to individualistic cultures, where freedom of activity is more important.

A theoretically interesting finding of the present study is that gratitude expression should not be viewed as intrinsically face-threatening (pace Brown and Levinson, 1987), because its basic function is to establish and sustain social relationships, so gratitude expression is generally desirable to both the thanker and the thankee. In Jordan, people seem to "have absorbed a repertoire of divine sentiment into their daily speech, assigning Allah's influence over every area of their lives" (Morrow, 2006: 203) and view gratitude expression behaviour as required by God. This highlights religion as a selected feature of a lifestyle. It further indicates a great influence of religion on language where people intend to use it to reflect their emotions and mirror a response to them. However, this is difficult to reconcile with the view that gratitude expression is intrinsically face-threatening. Moreover, although face-threatening behaviour is generally very noticeable, neither the English nor the Jordanian subjects interviewed for the present study seem to perceive gratitude expression as an imposition on the thanker. This finding is also compatible with Spencer-Oatey's (2005) notions of rapport and rapport management and Locher and Watts's (2005) relational work.

5.4.2 The impact of social and contextual variables on gratitude expression

The data revealed a number of social and contextual variables that might influence the participants' gratitude expression style. In both native groups, social familiarity and degree of imposition were found to be the most significant variables. This supports Coulmas' (1981) and Liao's (2013) claim that, although gratitude expression strategies and proper responses vary depending on the type of gratitude object, interpersonal relations between the interlocutors still play a significant role. This indicates that picking the expression that suits to the context is a symbol of politeness. This further implies that using the wrong expression could result in being deemed impolite, even when conveying gratefulness and a knowledge of when, how, and when to swap between various strategies is of a great importance.

Both groups of respondents consider the degree of favour and social familiarity as definite sources of influence. In particular, all English and Jordanian participants perceive the degree of the imposition on the person who did the favour as having the most important impact on gratitude expression. For both groups, the greater the favour, the more elaborate the gratitude expression should be. This is due to the fact that they feel indebted to anybody whose favour costs him/her a lot of efforts and time. This indicates that they use various strategies to make sure that their hearers know how grateful they are for their assistance. They said that the degree of gratitude should match the favour: the bigger the favour, the greater the appreciation should be. Although overstating gratitude and using various elaborate and embellished gratitude expressions are preferred in response to having received great help, Jordanian and English participants seem to vary in their judgements about the extent to which overstating one's gratitude is acceptable. The English participants reported that they would use the full expression "*Thank you very much" and/or "I really appreciate that*" or seldom repeat a thanking expression, while Jordanian participants emphasised that they would use diverse strategies such as "شكرا لك جزيلا", 'ʃukran lak dʒazi:lan', '*Thank you very much',* "لااستطيع ان اشكرك بما فيه الكفايه" , 'la: astatˁi:ʔ >an >aʃkuruk bima: fi:h alkifa:jah', '*I can't thank you enough', "*هذا لطف منك" , "haða: lutˁfak mink', *'This is really kind of you'*, as well as using a repetition, and adverbs of degree to convey the extent of their gratitude, along with *religious formulae in the form of blessings and supplications* (e.g. "بارك الله فيك", 'ba:rak Allah' fi:k' *"May Allah bless you*") and stating the addressee's names and titles. Accordingly, this result strongly supports Bach and Harnishs' (1979) and Wholfson 's (1989) Ahar, and Eslamis' (2011) and Cui's (2012) observation that the speakers' perceived degree of indebtedness determines the number of gratitude expressions and that the assessments of these factors vary cross-culturally.

Despite emphasising the probable impact of social familiarity, the two groups had different perceptions concerning appropriate stylistic choices and the need for gratitude expression in various social contexts. The present study also supports the widely held perception that gratitude expression is a common feature of

English society: between friends, family members, and interactants in various service encounters. This could be attributed to respect for personal autonomy, and the consequent need to acknowledge indebtedness for relatively small favours between close friends or family members. In contrast to the English, Jordanians do not perceive close friends as autonomous individuals, but as co-dependents with a mutual obligation to support each other in various ways, so gratitude is neither expected nor communicated even for relatively costly favours. Close friends are considered family members. They rely on each other most of the time and the closeness of the relationship is reflected in the use of family terms "brother" and "sister" when referring to them. This also could be attributed to their view of a favour in such cases as a matter of trade-off shared interests between them. Moreover, favours are made as actions of personal generosity rather than (face-threatening) impositions, especially in informal situations. This indicates the idea of good will (i.e. where the favour is perceived as a sacrifice rather than an imposition, especially in informal situations). Even when gratitude is expressed among close friends, it is communicated more succinctly than in formal situations, where gratitude expression is expected, highly valued and more elaborate. As favours between close friends and relatives are exchanged regularly and can be taken for granted, there is no need to communicate one's gratitude for them. If gratitude expressions are given, this is done in a brief, casual way, by paying a conventional compliment or using a formulaic expression such as: "May God reward you". This is likely to happen in such familiar situations in a society like Jordan characterised by a comparatively relational group mentality, in contrast to Western societies which are much more individualistic. Unlike the Jordanian participants, the English participants believe that even a friend is under no obligation to help, and they view this expectation as a socially unacceptable lack of respect for personal autonomy. This idea is interesting as it reflects that underlying good will which is often overlooked. It seems that Western egalitarianism presupposes that everything one does for another person involves at least some degree of imposition and is therefore worth being thanked for, but lacks the further assumption that the personal 'sacrifice' is actually motivated by good will towards the other person. The finding of English gratitude expression in

familiar context bears a similarity with Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) who found a correlation between the number of gratitude expressions and the social distance amongst the interlocutors. In other words, the shorter gratitude expression sometimes reflects greater social distance between the speaker and the hearer. The finding of Jordanians is similar to Apte's (1974) finding concerning South Asian Languages (Hindi and Marathi) were gratitude expression is not preferred a favour is duty. Thus, this indicates that expressing gratitude is strongly associated with indebtedness.

Unlike those of the English participants, Jordanian participants' assessments of indebtedness and appropriate gratitude expression strategy are also related to some other variables, most notably: the thankee's social status, gender, age and personality. This finding seems inconsistent with Cheng (2005) who imputes the incongruence between gratitude expression and the sense of social reciprocity or indebtedness mainly to the considerable importance of the age factor. However, the present study shows that there are a number of other substantial variables besides age, such as high social class and gender. In Jordan, high social class men and women should be thanked with a high level of care and respect. This can be ascribed to the influence of social traditions and religion which place some restrictions on mixed-gender and mixed-social class interaction. The findings support Takahashi and Beebe's (1993) observation that social status is more essential from the Asian (in his case Japanese) viewpoint than that of Anglo Saxon (in his case the USA) culture. This also supports Mills's (2003) finding that age is a significant social factor which could result in different perceptions about what constitutes politeness.

In addition, Jordanians believe that high status people and old people should be thanked using elaborate linguistic expressions of gratitude. The finding is consistent with Smith-Hefner's (1988) observations that older people are treated with respect and the individual's perceived social position is habitually bound to age, gender, and self-identity, and that extremely elaborate and intricate rules control the use of all linguistic politeness markers. The finding regarding the

unlikely communication of gratitude by high social status individuals to those of lower status in Jordanian culture appears similar to research findings on other Asian cultures such as those of Indonesia (Errington, 1984) and Korea (Yang, 1986), where the expectation that feelings of gratitude will be communicated linguistically by individuals of higher social status to those of lower status is very low or non-existent. Thus, it seems that social status is generally very important in Asian cultures and that the linguistic communication of gratitude in these cultures is also very sensitive to the social social-status differential between the interlocutors. This could also be attributed to their unwillingness to meddle in the affairs of others, even if they have a close relationship with them. Thus, expressing gratitude helps to neutralise the debt they imagine they have incurred to the person who has helped them. Such remarkable difference might be attributed to the fact that Jordan is a hierarchal society as opposed to English society which is built on the equilibrium basis were gratitude expression is expressed everywhere and to everybody who should be equally treated and respected.

In Jordan, old people express their gratitude in a different way from younger people. They tend to use *religious formulae in the form of blessings and supplications* and repetitive gratitude expression. In general, Jordanians expect and like to receive *blessings and supplications* and titles such as "يابني", 'ja: ibni:', "My son" and "يا ابنتي", 'ja: ibnati:' "My daughter" as typical forms of gratitude expression by old people, even those with whom they do not have close social links. These modes of address are considered polite and they are expected, even when addressing non-relatives. The findings are also in line with Blum-Kulka and House (1989) and Kasper and Rose (2002) who argue that societies differ in their assessment and weighting of contextual and social variables and cultural values, such as those concerning their members' rights and duties, obligations, social power, social distance age and gender. Cross-cultural variation in the communication of gratitude and the intricate interplay of these contextual and social variables in communication make the choice of appropriate gratitude expression difficult. This often leaves speakers somewhat embarrassed and unsure

as to whether they have performed the communicative act appropriately. It further implies that that the reason behind cross-cultural variation amongst the communicative acts in terms of verbalisation and conceptualisation is the reflection of cultures diverse hierarchies of values by pragmatic norm. In other words, Jordanians abide by some social rules of politeness that they consider moral maxims, and any breach of them will incur social sanctions. It further implies that their social structure and relations definitely have a great effect on their views of politeness and its role in their life. Consequently, the essential elements of politeness, or what counts as polite behaviour is vital in defusing interpersonal tension, thus enhancing social harmony and signalling social hierarchical relations.

5.4.3 The perception of the preferred type and number of gratitude expression

In contrast to the English, Jordanians seem to prefer using special elaborate expressions in what outsiders perceive as an extravagant, flowery and grandiloquent way, when expressing gratitude to show more respect and deference to their interlocutors. This indicates that Jordanians prefer beautification of the gratitude expression from the speaker's viewpoint. This supports Suleiman's (1973) and Zaharna's (1995) characterisations of Arabic communication style as elaborate, flowery, indirect, and repetitious. This could be due to a general cultural preference for using a mixture of various types of gratitude expression which help the thanker's rejoinder sound sincere, rather than a mechanical, offhand and superficial, gratitude expression and in this way the hearer will easily recognise the thanker's intention. Using many strategies could show the extent to which the hearer is happy, indebted and grateful toward the received favour. The present study supports the general observation that gratitude forms, rituals and formulaic expressions differ across cultures (Morsi, 2010) as well as Wolfson's (1986: 119) finding about cross-cultural variation in the "distribution and frequencies of occurrence" of communicative act strategies. In

view of such cultural differences, it is not surprising that the English perceive lengthy gratitude expressions as unnecessary and as potentially leading to miscommunication, and that the speaker's 'exaggerated' style is likely to be perceived as a sign of hypocrisy. Overall, the findings strongly point to the need for a better understanding of the social function(s) of gratitude expression and of the culture-specific values and attitudes which inform and guide the performance of this communicative act. Haverkate (1988) argues that gratitude expression is a reactive action whose function is to restore equilibrium in the cost-benefit relation among interlocutors. Accordingly, any type of repayment, such as an invitation for a meal or gift-giving, is highly favoured. These three elements of favour, gratitude verbal expression, and counter gift constitute the principle of reciprocity. There is interesting cross-cultural variation in what counts as appropriate repayment. While Jordanians have a strong preference for offering food, the English favour gift-giving. The observed cross-cultural differences in the complexity of verbal expressions for gratitude and the kind of repayment gifts versus food) suggest that English (British/Western) culture is oriented towards material rewards (with brief verbal expressions of gratitude and gifts being more valued) while the Jordanian (Arabic) culture is oriented towards symbolic spiritual rewards (hence the prevalence of more complex verbal gratitude expressions, conventionalised use of *religious formulae in the form of blessings and supplications* used for conveying gratitude, and offers of food, which could be seen as a form of communion between the thanker and the thankee). From a different perspective, it could be argued that the communicative act of gratitude is not intrinsically face-threatening. In some cultures (e.g. many Western cultures) the act of expressing gratitude is seen as an acknowledgement that the thanker is indebted to the thankee, so it is indeed an imposition on the speaker and, therefore, a threat to the speaker's negative face. However, in other cultures, such as Jordan (and other Arabic cultures) the act of conveying gratitude itself counts as a repayment for the favour, so it is therefore not intrinsically face-threatening (although it can be face-threatening, say, if the thanker feels they should offer food to the thankee, despite not having enough to meet their own needs). These suggestions are consistent with Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) who claim that

speech acts - and the communicative act of gratitude is not an exception - operate by universal pragmatic principles in that gratitude expression serves the same general function across cultures. However, there is considerable cultural variation in the ways gratitude expression is realised and valued.

The aforementioned religious basis could explain Jordanians' preference for using *religious formulae in the form of blessings and supplications* and reveal the strong influence of patterns of thought, culture, and religious orientation. According to Morrow (2006), the array of religious expressions forms a vital and necessary feature of the Arabic language. In particular, Arabic-speakers seldom say "شكرا", "ʃukran" " thanks", naturally opting for the religious expression "جزاك الله", 'dʒaza:k Allah', 'May God reward you' and/or "بارك الله فيك", 'ba:rak Allah fi:k', 'May Allah bless you'. From a pragmatic perspective, the use of religion-related expressions of gratitude signifies a greater degree of thankers' satisfaction more than the mere use of "thank you". In this case, Davies (2000) warns that the incongruous usage of religiously-based Arabic politeness expressions may be considered impolite. The present researcher supports Al-Fattah's (2010) observation that politeness is interpreted and expressed differently across cultures, particularly in Arabic in relation the impact of religion, which generally provides interlocutors with the expressions they require to behave politely in various contexts. Thus, El-Sayed's (1989) caution should be reinforced that failing to grasp the often slight distinctions between first language and target language formulas can result in serious misunderstandings and misjudgements.

The results also revealed that, in contrast to that of the English, the Jordanians' use of the strategy and its linguistic form (a plural pronoun or intensification) when expressing gratitude to a single person is also mainly tied to a high social status and sometimes to social unfamiliarity to show more respect. For instance, when expressing gratitude to professor, the second person pronoun singular 'you' "شكرا لك جزيلا دكتور",'ʃukran lak dʒazi:lan' duktu:r', 'thank you very much doctor' is replaced with the honorific second person plural 'you' "شكرا جزيلا لكم دكتور", 'ʃukran dʒazi:lan' lakum duktu:r', 'thank you very much doctor' because a professor is a person of significantly higher status than the student. This use of

pronoun system carries a pragmatic force. This outcome supports the previous literature (e.g. Crystal, 2011) which revealed that in several languages, pragmatic distinctions of politeness, formality, and intimacy are shown through phonological, lexical, and grammatical form of linguistic expressions to eventually reflect issues such as social status, and class.

Moreover, Jordanians show great preference to using titles, which indicates a recognition of others' social distance, power, solidarity, respect as well as intimacy. This is highly valued in the Jordanian culture, as receiving help from an unfamiliar or high status person is not expected due to distant relationship, having no right to impose anything on them and trying to convey respect and intimacy and preserve their social rank as highlighted by Morsi (2010). They also believe that doing so enables them to signal sincere respect and establish new strong future relationship with them.

5.4.4 The perception of awkwardness and misunderstanding in gratitude expression

The results showed that the shyness and lateness might prevent both groups from expressing gratitude. This result is consistent with Ferguson's (1981) structure of politeness formulas where it varies in content and usage in light of four social dimensions besides social variables, the length of time since last meeting and the number of persons involved in the communication. Accordingly, the results show that Ferguson's social dimensions prominently influence the content and use of the politeness formulas considered in English and Jordanians Arabic culture. Jordanians accentuated the fact that without the above mentioned types of showing thankfulness, they will not be regarded polite even when showing gratitude to others. Thus, the study shows that even expressing gratitude could cause pragmatic failure. Using too much elaborated gratitude expressions, refusing to shake hands, putting hands on the heart and head from the Jordanian side and viewing "thank you" and or gift-giving as an adequate expression on the English side could cause embarrassment and thus may lead to intercultural communication breakdown due to the inability of both groups to recognise what is

meant by what is done. It is apparent that these outcomes support Gass and Neu, (2006) and Gumperz and Hymes (1986) who refer this fact to particular socio-cultural restraints that govern the speech act performance and enlighten speakers what to say, to whom, and under what conditions. The results also emphasise Cohen's (1996) indication that selecting the sociolinguistic appropriate strategy as well as the proper sociolinguistic form for that strategy is a complex process as it is controlled by cultural, social, personal and situational factors. Accordingly, this outcome is consistent with results obtained by many researchers such as Thomas (1983), Umar, 2004 and Gass and Neu (2006) where such differences may cause frustration, embarrassment, ineffective communication, communication breakdown, as well as misjudgements about the person, their beliefs and attitudes. Thus, this ensures the fact that politeness perception is socially and culturally prescribed. Consequently, a person could be perceived as impolite if these rules of politeness were violated.

Since gratitude expression could be viewed as a FTA, it is likely that it might cause awkwardness. This outcome supports Eisenstein and Bodman (1993) who indicate that conveying gratitude is a complex speech act and potentially a face-threatening act. Hence, it potentially involves both positive and negative feelings on the speakers and their addressee since the speaker acknowledges a debt to the hearer. Consequently, it can threaten the speaker's negative face. Besides awkwardness, it may also cause misunderstanding where the giver receives a type and an amount of gratitude expression different from what he/she anticipates. This is in line with Eisenstein and Bodman's (1993) indication that the recipient is anticipated to express "the appropriate amount of gratitude to the giver, though such perspectives may vary across cultures" and Culpeper's (2011a) finding that a conflict between speaker's words and hearers' social norm-based anticipations of how speaker should be addressing them is another factor that is expected to lead to impoliteness perception of a specific speech behavior. Caring so much for others' face is also illustrated in taking care of their feedback response. This is due to the Jordanians' cultural beliefs that they have to express the appropriate amount of gratitude expression to their benefactor. This supports Eisenstein and

Bodman (1993)'s finding that the favour recipient continues to express gratitude to the giver utilising various strategies until the latter indicates that what had been said is enough. This could be explained by the favour recipient's aim to express the appropriate amount of indebtedness and gratefulness to the giver, to restore the balance of the social relationship, or even show respect for the social status of the favour giver.

5.4.5 Discursive Communicative Functions of "Thank You"

The present study revealed that "thank you" serves various functions other than being an expression of gratitude, which is the basic and major function, with some differences among Jordanian and English cultures such as starting and ending a conversation, leave-taking, a compliment response as well as a positive reinforcement. The socio-cultural context plays a vital role in deciding what function the expression "thank you" serves. This finding is consistent with the results obtained by Eisenstein and Bodman (1986); Hinkel (1994) and Morsi (2010) where expressing thanks functions as expressing appreciation, enhancing and boosting social reciprocity and group membership, expressing appreciation and indebtedness (Kotani, 2002); conversational openings, leave takings and offering positive reinforcement Jung (1994) and Morsi (2010). On the other hand, this finding is inconsistent with Koutlaki (2002) who found that thanking expressions in service encounters are routine formulas understood as refusing rather than accepting other's offer. Furthermore, the results revealed that thanking for English people becomes a much more quick mechanical response especially for service encounter. This is called by Rubin (1983) a "Bald thank you" and emphasises the idea mentioned before which represents thanking as more a fulfilment of social expectation rather than a real feeling of gratitude as it usually occurs in most social situations. Overall, this result supports Mills (2003), Watts (2003), and Bousfield (2008) in their criticism of the straightforward Brown and Levinson's model where communication is assumed to be always perfect. They acknowledge that conventional linguistics realisations, which are generally used to index one communicative act and express politeness in one community, might

be used to index a different communicative act in another community, such as the use of 'I am sorry' to express gratitude or even indicate impoliteness such as the case of using 'thank you' sarcastically or in way which sounds insincere to the interlocutors. This is in line of Locher and Watts's (2007:78) argument that "no linguistic behaviour…is inherently polite or impolite".

To sum up, the analysis of the findings in the context of the existing literature shows that the relation between communication of gratitude and politeness could be explained in terms of the interaction between a handful of variables: face concerns, degree of imposition, and the socio-cultural values and attitudes which underlie power, distance and status differential. The analysis provides the basis for some conclusions which will be reported in the following chapter.

Chapter Six: Conclusions: Contribution to Knowledge, Limitations, Implications and Recommendations for Future Research

6.1 Introduction

In chapters four and five of this study, we have presented and discussed the findings of the cross-cultural analysis of the communication of gratitude as perceived and realised in the cultures of Jordan and England. The differences between the data elicited by pragmatic research instruments (DCT and role-play) have also been presented and discussed. In this final chapter of the thesis, a summary of these main findings is provided in section 6.2. The study's overall contribution to the field of cross-cultural pragmatics, politeness research and applied research is presented in Section 6.3. Finally, the limitations of the present study along with its recommendations for follow-up work are discussed in Section 6.4.

6.2 A Summary of the study's main findings

This study followed a mixed approach (using various methods) to address the research questions. In light of what is presented in the previous two chapters, a definite conclusion might be drawn about the communication of gratitude in both English and Jordanian cultures. Despite the slight similarities found, the present study reveals remarkable cross-cultural differences in perceiving and realising gratitude expression in England and Jordan. As these two cultures are markedly

different, the findings are not surprising. Significant differences appear in Jordanians' use of longer and more various gratitude expressions as a sign of their socio-cultural views of politeness. This finding made clear that these communicative act-based differences are the result of the influence of cultural values of each speech community, including their perceptions of the contextual and social variables on both the number and types of gratitude strategy. The most remarkable, and, perhaps, most exciting difference appears in the comparatively high significance attached to the social status by the Jordanians when expressing gratitude. As opposed to English culture, both the gender and the age of the speaker and the addressee in Jordanian society seem to be crucial and noteworthy parameters in the formulation and acceptance of gratitude in terms of strategy's type and frequency. These findings bring us closer to a better understanding of culture-specific features of the linguistic communication of gratitude. It could be said that the results support previous outcomes signifying the universality and culture-specificity of the communication of gratitude.

The data suggest that the cross-cultural similarities and differences observed can be clarified in light of a Universalist view of communicative acts and face concerns in social rapport, and some culture-specific values which are influenced by the cultural history of a specific language group. The researcher hopes that such study has given a clear picture of the variation in the repertoire of the two cultural communicative groups, as indicated evidently in the performance of gratitude expression.

Significantly, the research supports previous studies arguing that each socio-cultural group has its own cultural values, beliefs, and patterns of behaviour. The findings profoundly reveal a deep, intrinsic correlation between linguistic and social facts. Due to the fact that such cultural differences appear to be crucial as they may cause negative attitude and cultural misunderstandings, such reflection helps us to diminish the possibility of any cross-cultural miscommunication.

The findings highlighted differences between role-play and DCT where the former yielded longer and relatively more varied gratitude expression responses

than the latter. The present study contributes to the debatable issue of finding the right data collection instrument should not highlight the importance of one instrument and play down the value of others. The researcher concludes that using DCT and role-play along with interview in the same study can yield interesting and informative data quickly, regarding pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic features of the communication of gratitude. The cross reference and triangulation of the findings reached from different research instruments helped us to reach reliable conclusions about the cultural variations both in terms of performance and perception). The sole use of DCT, for example, would not help us gain a clear picture of the perception of the participants about gratitude expression. Thus, the researcher recommends adopting a multi-data-elicitation technique for a type of studies whose aim is identifying similarities and differences strategies as well as revealing the reasons latent behind them. Surprisingly, and to the best of the researcher's knowledge, the present study and Cummings and Beebe (2006) are the only pragmatic studies that recommend using mixed methods as a viable alternative pragmatic research method to purely qualitative or quantitative research design, whereas the others research appear contented of the sufficiency of using one method such as DCT to collect data.

6.3 The Study's main contribution to the field of cross-cultural pragmatics, politeness research and applied linguistics

This study contributes to the field of linguistics in three ways: (a) through obtaining novel data on the differences between the cultures of England and Jordan in a way which addresses some important gaps in and limitations of previous research; (b) through descriptive generalisations based on the data in virtue of providing the basis for explanations of the complex data in terms of a handful of variables, and (c), through the methodology – which includes the coding scheme, and the advantage of using mixed methods for research of this type as well as the contextual analysis of data.

Although a plethora of research is available about cross-cultural variation in communicative act use, this research is the first of its kind that follows a

multidimensional approach in exploring the cross-cultural variation in gratitude expression between Jordan and English culture. Comparing the realisation patterns of gratitude in these two cultures help us gain more insights into the differences and/or similarities in this linguistic behaviour and compare the function of their politeness conception socio-pragmatically and cross-culturally. This makes the study the groundwork for other research related to this area, and a foundation for other cross-cultural pragmatics research on the use of other communicative acts in Jordan and England. The present results largely highlight the importance of exploring cross-cultural differences in performing communicative acts, and thus support the usefulness of adopting the contrastive approach in the field of pragmatics.

The present study lends support to previous researchers' findings related to the universality and culture-specifity of gratitude expression and the impact of socio-cultural and contextual variables on its realisation (Ahar, and Eslami, 2011) and the impact of socio-cultural and contextual variables on its realisation as found in the previous researches (Ahar, and Eslami, 2011; Pishghadam and Zarei, 2011, Cui, 2012; and Liao, 2013 and others). The present study's findings also confirm the notion that gratitude expression could benefit the interlocutors as it keeps strong well-cemented bonds among society members (Intachakra, 2004; Kumar, 2001) and can engender feelings of warmth and solidarity (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986). Significantly, the present study revealed pragmatic differences in both cultures' politeness norms. It exhibited differences in the type and frequency of semantic formulas of gratitude expression, with reference to Brown and Levinson's (1987) social and contextual parameters. Specifically, it disclosed what is realised as verbal and non-verbal polite expressions. Thus, the researcher corroborates the finding of Bond, Žegarac and Spencer-Oatey (2000) which shows that encountering pragmatic differences when dealing with foreigners necessitates involving the cultural distinctive values in explaining the ideas behind such differences. The researcher strongly calls for defining gratitude expression as a communicative act shaped by a given community norms.

The study findings are compatible with a range of views on gratitude expression found in the literature. However, our data provide little support, if any, for the well-known view that communicating gratitude is intrinsically a face threatening act. As explained in Section (5.4.1), English informants perceived gratitude as socially desirable and costing nothing. Jordanians' perceptions were incompatible with the view that gratitude expression was an imposition on the thanker in their culture (although gratitude expression could involve making particular commitments, which, in some circumstances, could put the thanker to some considerable cost). Gratitude is viewed as a cultural norm in English which indicates politeness and formality, it is expressed and highlighted by Jordanians as politeness and solidarity sign since it help them establish and maintain good social relations. In light of this, we can state that relational work is attained through establishing and maintaining close relationships in Jordanian Arabic culture or through emphasising the polite formal relationship in dealing with others as in English culture. This finding is also compatible with Locher and Watts' (2005), Spencer-Oatey's (2005), and Arundale's (2006) perspectives on interactional and relational functions of speech acts. However, the present study data seem to show that thanking should not be viewed as intrinsically face-threatening (pace Brown and Levinson, 1987), because its basic function is to establish and sustain social relationships as well as to improve their standing in others' eyes, so thanking is generally desirable to both the thanker and the thankee. In Jordan, people seem to "have absorbed a repertoire of divine sentiment into their daily speech, assigning Allah's influence over every area of their lives" (Morrow, 2006: 203) and view thanking behaviour as required by God. This is difficult to reconcile with the view that thanking is intrinsically face-threatening. Moreover, although face-threatening behaviour is generally very noticeable, neither the English nor the Jordanian subjects interviewed for the present study seem to perceive thanking as an imposition on the thanker. Communication of gratitude may only affect the thankee's social rights through inconvenience without impinging on his/her self-worth. In fact, it can contribute to face by making the thankee feel appreciated and respected. Thus, gratitude expression could be a rapport sensitive communicative act without inevitably being a face-threatening act. This also goes some way

towards confirming the view that no linguistic expression can be considered to be intrinsically polite. This supports the aforementioned researchers' claim that Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness strategies would not be obsolete if they are regarded as part of relational work.

The relational nature of gratitude necessitates reviewing the communication of gratitude, according to people's perceptions, discernments[61], and judgements of its appropriateness and its related social functions. The study thus is in support of more contextualised analysis of communicative acts and their related (im)politeness connotations across cultures and languages. As discussed in Chapter 5 (Section 5.4.2), politeness in the present study is found a matter of degree, and determining the appropriate degree of politeness by choosing the appropriate linguistic expression depends on the speaker's and the hearer's assessment of (mutual) obligations, and costs. In Arabic cultures (including that of Jordan), these assessments are based mainly on the personal relationship between the interlocutors, rather than on their institutionalised social roles, such as: colleague, student, teacher, service provider, which are more important in Western cultures. If this generalisation - which cannot be explored here in more detail - is broadly correct, it points to a promising direction for further research. These findings take us a step closer to a better understanding of some culture-specific features of gratitude expression and in this way potentially contribute to devising better strategies for the development of communicative competence.

The study also supports Scollon and Scollon's (1995) view point of politeness in communication and its constituents (the solidarity politeness system, the deference politeness system, as well as the hierarchical politeness system). This study's findings highlight the significance of the underlying variables of these constituents (social distance, and power difference) in deciding the politeness strategies to use when performing communicative acts. The findings are also in line with Arundale's (2006) face notion which is conceptualised in light of the

[61] Terkourafi (2001: 11) views it as "acknowledging one's understanding of the situation and of the relation between conversational participants-indicating this understanding by means of an appropriate linguistic choice".

relationship that is interactionally accomplished between two or more persons, rather than Brown and Levinson's (1987) person-centred concept. The findings are consistent with Leech's main dimensions of his principles are "minimise the expression of impolite beliefs; maximise the expression of polite beliefs" which vary in their significance cross-culturally.

The present study has contributed to the debate concerning pragmatics research instruments. The findings are of a considerable value in highlighting and reaffirming the importance of employing a mixed-research method; DCT, role-play and interview which were found fruitful. Without the use of DCT and role-play, it would not have been possible to collect data which would allow comparing gratitude expression and politeness in Jordan and English. The use of DCT with the ample space available helped the respondents to write their answers and along with the role-play to generate a considerable amount of data necessary for the intercultural comparability purpose. Equally important, interviewing a number of participants helped to gain a deeper insight into the DCT respondents' views of politeness. This could further emphasise the possibility of gaining valid and reliable cross-cultural data.

The newly employed gratitude strategies coding scheme could also be perceived as a contribution to the pragmatics field. It consists of a number of well-categorised strategies used by informants of both languages and one newly emerging strategy (praying) was only figured in the Jordanian responses. It could be stated that the respondents resorting to these strategies are attempting to intensify their gratitude expression, trying to receive the addressee's compassion and admiration. It could also form a base for creating a simple, clear and extensive coding scheme for other studies investigating other communicative acts in these cultures.

The fact that England is one of the main destinations for many Jordanian students pursuing their higher studies accentuates the need to raise their recognition of the cross-cultural distinctions in recognising politeness. Likewise, Jordan is one of the major destinations for students learning the Arabic language which is now

growing and tourists from all over the world, including lots of English people. The present study will be of a great value to those members of each of the two cultures under investigation who have engaged or are planning to engage in intercultural communication with members of the other culture resulting in promoting fruitful cross- cultural communication.

In light of the current language teaching and learning trends, which give more attention to communicative language instruction including pragmatic competence, and the evidence that language learners may lack mastery of communicative act, the present findings could be a paramount importance to English and Arabic learners. Researchers found that focusing on grammatical and lexical competence only will not enable language learners to linguistically produce accurate expressions and clearly comprehend articulated utterances. Yet, to recognise implicitly conveyed messages, learners need to understand the figurative meaning and the contextual knowledge to determine the probable interpretations which a particular produced utterance might bear. Besides linguistic knowledge and interactional skills, this necessitates developing socio-cultural competence as it qualifies language learners to interpret implicitly delivered messages and enables them to generate socially proper utterances. Teaching English in Jordan has long been oriented to grammar and reading–based approach. In real-life situation, Jordanian students may often fail to communicate effectively with English foreigners. One of the reasons for cross-cultural communication breakdown could the intercultural pragmatic variations of communicative acts in general and the learners' assessment of the target language standards in light of their own socio-cultural norms. That is most learners tend to express gratitude and evaluate others' gratitude expression without considering the pragmatic diversity in the way gratitude is realised in each culture. Another reason lies in learners' unawareness of the evaluation and the weightiness of the social and contextual variables in the target language. This ignorance of expressing gratitude is expected to bring into their intercultural encounters often negative evaluations about the individuals' identity and culture and cause intercultural miscommunication. The findings of this study may be beneficial in broadening the learners' knowledge about aptness

in the target language and thus increase their understanding of their own culture as well as other's. The findings could enrich the language leaners' repertoire of what expression they can use, who expresses gratitude and to whom, how and their correspondence with contextual and social improves our understanding of a people's social and cultural meaning and values in a certain community.

The present findings could be of a paramount importance for the Ministry of Education and EFL/ESL or Arabic language learning supervisors to enrich the language curricula with the intercultural communicative act and more intercultural consciousness of politeness norms, differences between English and Jordan, and training teachers in the pre-service and in- service training programs and teachers in their classrooms and be used in language teaching programmes. They also assist foreign language teachers to enrich the classroom input with authentic cross-cultural materials (i.e. recordings of radio, television programs, native speakers' conversations), and contextualised task-based activities to expose students to diverse types of pragmatic data to raise their consciousness of any cultural distinctions that may affect the intercultural communication process. Achieving a better understanding of cultural distinctiveness plays an essential role in maintaining positive social and cultural relationships and helps avoid cultural stereotypes, raise consciousness of foreign language learners and render intercultural communication smooth. The findings reaffirm the notion that people from both cultures should not consider their own social conduct and norms as universal (Wolfson, 1989) as this could result in probable miscommunication and misjudgement based on different norms of communications across societies. Though being polite is preferred universally, the connotation of politeness might vary across cultures. This highlights the necessity of becoming aware of such intercultural variations in the perceptions of gratitude expression and other communicative acts' nature and functions.

The findings also shed light on the importance of conducting research to examine the politeness elements, especially the expression of gratitude as presented in the textbooks from a pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic point of view and

investigating teachers' awareness of building and developing their learners' pragmatic competence besides their linguistic competence. This has a clear implication for developing teaching and learning materials. In particular, syllabus developers should greatly consider this by providing authentic topics and activities with a focus on learner-centred activities such as role-play and real discussions.

Translators and filmmakers will also find the findings of this study of a great interest as they pave their way for successful selection of equivalent strategies and structures. In addition, the results will also provide them with more insights about the cultural aspects of language they should pay attention to in their career.

6.4 Limitations, implications and recommendations for future research

This section presents the limitations of the study, which should be acknowledged and addressed if the study was to be duplicated, as well as the implications for future complementary research. They are a fruitful line of research development that could yield remarkable and meaningful findings which will further strengthen the power of cross-cultural pragmatic studies. These limitations include areas concerning the extent to which the aims have been achieved and the choice of the topic. The researcher contends that it is the ramifications of this study for future multi-dimensional investigations of the contrasts between Arabic and English speaking cultures which are expected to prove particularly significant in virtue of corroborating or refuting existing findings and in this way paving the way for new research avenues.

Several caveats need to be raised concerning the first limitation. All the instruments employed have drawbacks as they may not be the best way to obtain authentic data as discussed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.3 and 3.4). While the Discourse Completion Task is a time-efficient instrument, participants have the chance to contemplate and modify their rejoinders which is less likely in a naturalistic spoken setting. Nonetheless, it is still crucially needed due to the fact

that there are no other data collection instruments up to now that have as many administrative benefits as DCT. Similarly, though the participants also responded orally to the DCT, they still gave projected responses. That is what they assumed they would say in a certain situation. However, considering the element of validity and reliability, more research on DCTs is required as it could help in reassessing the instrument design which will in turn lead to the their improvement. These instruments were used since eliciting natural data is difficult because of time and financial constraints and does not guarantee gathering sufficient data required for the study purposes. Since the pragmatic research instrument employed could have an influence on the elicited data, a complementary study could be conducted using other instruments such as real life data collection which would be more reliable and verify the data from questionnaire, open role-play, and multiple discourse completion tasks to investigate the communicative acts including gratitude expressions is recommended. In addition, the results could be complemented by corpus data. Moreover, the study compares only DCT and role-play excluding other pragmatic research instruments. Therefore, the call for research on the issue of data collection instruments is essential as such a research will present evidence in relation to the reliability and validity of the data. In addition, due to the different times taken by the participants for completing the DCT; immediate response, 30 minutes and more few days in or outside the researcher's presence and when natural data collection is not an option, upcoming studies should adopt actions to better control the amount of time spent on completing the DCT.

This limitation is also related to the subject pool. The study is limited to both Jordanians native speakers of Arabic and English natives with a size of 92 participants. The participants were controlled in terms of age, education level. They were largely mixed-gender postgraduate non-language major students. Consequently, the generalisations and conclusions will be only applicable to subjects that share similar characteristics. The data would have been complemented and enriched more if the study enrolled a great number of participants. Hence, further replication of the study with a huge sample, more

subjects from various educational and occupational backgrounds is recommended for a bigger repertoire of instances, thus offering reliable data. The current investigation is also limited to parameters such as social and contextual variables (social power and status, and the degree of the imposition) in eight situations. Thus, future studies should include other variables such as gender, age, level of the education, specialisation, levels of linguistic proficiency, length of residency etc. in more situations on the expression of gratitude. Cross-cultural investigation of the impact of gender on the communication of gratitude is also recommended as it could show in what senses and under what social conditions we could find gender-based language differences in both communities, what is considered (im)polite and why. I also recommend that the same study framework should be replicated with a combination of the social variables for both the addressee and the speaker together in the same situation between both Arabic and English speakers and other languages in order to reach final conclusion concerning the realisation of gratitude in these languages.

The study is restricted in terms of the speech community and communicative act of gratitude, thus it reflects just only those it applies to. Therefore, the researcher does not recommend making any generalisation on the basis of the present findings to other English and Arabic speaking countries. It would be worth exploring through further research the hypothesis that cultural variation in gratitude expression and other communicative acts such as the request, compliment concerns both its value and the forms it takes in various social situations in the cultures under the present study and others. This could raise cultural differences as it could be very helpful to understanding these speech events in the multicultural contexts, thus lessen intercultural communication breakdown.

The present study investigates the gratitude expressions only, not their corresponding responses (responses to receiving gratitude expression). However, Dumitrescu (2005) pointed out that gratitude expression is a dyadic communicative act as it is normally followed by a verbal response known as an

asymmetric adjacency pair. This adjacency act might be realised differently in other cultures along with various politeness connotations. Nevertheless, it should be taken into account that the gratitude expression and its responses might not happen in the same situations in all cultures.

Interlanguage pragmatics is beyond the scope of the present research, so future pragmatic research is needed to assess Arabic and English language learners' ability in communicating gratitude through various measures such as authentic discourse, role-play, corpus data and DCT. Highlighting the social situations in which differences in expressing gratitude and other communicative acts could cause intercultural communication breakdown is also important. Further, investigating pragmatic transfer from Arabic into English and English into Arabic in relation to the communication of gratitude and other communicative acts is needed, as this could influence the participants' communicative act performance and result in misjudgement and miscommunication. Besides, the factors that influence positive or negative pragmatic transfer should also be studied. Critically examining the conditions or processes of pragmatic transfer could reveal why and when features of the first language can be transferred to the second language. A pragmatic development study of the communication of gratitude is needed as it is also worth exploring the factors that might influence the development of the speech act of thanking cross-sectionally and longitudinally. Thus, a theoretical along with an empirical investigation of these factors and whether anyone is likely to override others are needed. Studies are needed to linguistically analyse them would be more fruitful in determining whether pragmatic development in the languages or pragmatic transfer from the first language into the second is pragmalinguistics or sociopragmatics. This could help more in further investigation of whether pragmalinguistics precedes sociopragmatics in the pragmatic development in the native as well as second languages.

It is also of a great value for pragmatists to move from research to practice particularly investigating curriculum pragmatic aspects and classroom pragmatic implications. Teaching English in Jordan has long been oriented to grammar and

reading–based approach. In real-life situations, Jordanian students may often fail to communicate effectively with English foreigners. Such studies may be beneficial in enriching the ESL/EFL curricula with intercultural speech act and politeness differences between English British and Jordanian Arabic. Achieving a better understanding of cultural distinctiveness could help to avoid cultural stereotypes, raise consciousness of foreign language learners about the cultural variations which can lead to misunderstandings.

Further investigation of traditional politeness theories such as Brown and Levinson (1987) is needed in terms of unveiling pragmatic connotations of their concepts as well as their applicability in different cultures deserves further research. Grice's Cooperative Principle should be reconsidered as they do not satisfactorily explain people's indirect interaction since in reality people sometimes violate his maxims of conversation for one reason or another. Additional research is required to find out the reasons latent behind successful or unsuccessful social interactions, and cast further light on what makes linguistic expressions being viewed as (im)proper or (im)polite.

This chapter has highlighted the conclusion of the study while also offering future recommendations. Overall, despite the aforementioned weaknesses, this thesis generates important contributions to the field of cross-cultural pragmatics, politeness research and applied linguistics. The findings of the study have shown cross-cultural differences in the communication of gratitude in Jordan and England. This should not be interpreted as one culture being more polite than the other, but should be indicative of the cross-cultural variation in evaluating and realising politeness; thus one should not evaluate politeness in the target language according to the norms of one's own. The study shows that following an interactional bottom-up model rather than a top-down constraint model of culture in analysing the data (i.e. based on the evaluations made by participants of their interaction) is both advantageous and required, since cultures vary and continually change. Thus, politeness and impoliteness should be investigated in light of the interlocutors' judgements which are constantly negotiated and ultimately change

over time across social interaction situations. The study enriches the languages under investigation in the field and it presents critically-reviewed literature, well-designed and carefully implemented research. These contributions make the study the groundwork for other research related to the cross-cultural pragmatics, politeness research and cross-cultural communication as well as a foundation for other cross-cultural pragmatics research on the use of other communicative acts in Jordan and England. The description, analysis and discussion of the data considered in this study strongly suggest that it has the potential to make a significant contribution to the development of communicative competence of Jordanian learners of English and English learners of Arabic.

Appendices

Appendix A: Participation Consent Sheet

Politeness Orientation in the Linguistic Expression of Gratitude in Jordan and England: A Comparative Cross-Cultural Study

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Nisreen Al-Khawaldeh. My study aims to (a) compare and contrast both the production and (b) perception of Jordanian native speakers of Arabic and English native speakers of when expressing gratitude as a response to getting a favour in light of the semantic formulae (strategy's type) and number of the gratitude expressions, and (c) highlight the differences between the pragmatic research instruments, namely Discourse Completion Task (DCT) and role-play trying to assess their practicality and effectiveness in investigating the gratitude expression.

Therefore, we are seeking your cooperation to carry out this study. The responses you provide in the role-play and the Discourse Completion Task (DCT) will only be identified through a code and it will not be possible to identify you since you will not provide your name and other personal details. They will be dealt with confidentially. Your participation is voluntary and you can withdraw at any time without giving a reason. We will need you to sign an informed consent for indicating your willingness to participate in this study.

We need your participation in the following:

1- Discourse completion task (DCT).
2- Interview
3- Role-play

If you need further information, please contact me at the following address: nisreen.al-khalwadeh@study.beds.ac.uk

Consent and Confidentiality

I give my consent for the participation in the DCT, interview and role-play and for the use of the information provided for research which may be published in conferences and /or journals. I am aware of the research aims. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. I am aware that the information provided will be held securely and in confidence and will not be used for any other purposes. I have the right to withdraw from the participation or not to participate in any of the used research instruments. I have been informed that the research will be carried out anonymously and that no attempt will be made to match the questionnaire data with individual respondents.

Signature of the participant:

Signed:.....

Date:.....

Signature of the conductor the study:.....

Signed: .....Date:.....

Appendix B: Cheng's (2005) pilot DCT

Table B. 1: English version of Cheng's (2005) pilot DCT for English native speakers

Situations	**Favour** **A- small** **B-big**	**Grateful** **- Little** **-Moderately** **- Extremely**	**Likely to happen** **-To some extent** **- Extremely**	**Experience the same or similar situation, yes/no**	**Response**	**Suggestions**
Scattered notes You are walking to class. You accidentally drop your papers and notes, which scatter all over the middle of a busy hallway. A student whom you don't know is walking by and stops to help you pick up your papers and notes. When the student gives the papers and notes to you, what do you say?						
Direction You have arranged to meet a friend at a restaurant in a town where you have never been before. You arrive at the town a little late and since you have never been there before, you can't find the restaurant. Desperate to find it, you ask an elderly person passing by for directions. After the person tells you how to get there, what do you say?						

Situations	**Favour** **A- small** **B-big**	**Grateful** **- Little** **-Moderately** **- Extremely**	**Likely to happen** **-To some extent** **- Extremely**	**Experience the same or similar situation, yes/no**	**Response**	**Suggestions**
Accommodation You are going to a conference in a large city in two weeks. Your budget is limited, so you try to find a roommate to share the cost of a hotel, but you can't find anyone. An older student (in late 40s) who just graduated from your department is married and lives in that city. The student invites you to stay at his/her house during the conference. Even though you don't know the person very well, you decide to accept this offer. After the conference and before heading back to school, what do you say to this person?						
Pen You are in a class. You need to take notes, but you can't find a pen. You ask a classmate, whom you don't know very well, sitting beside you to lend you one. After class, when you return the pen, what do you say to your classmate?						
Computer You are having trouble with your computer; it keeps crashing. You know someone at school who knows a lot about computers and you ask the person to help you even though both of you are not close friends. The person hesitates because he/she is very busy, but then agrees to help you, and ends up spending the whole afternoon fixing your computer. After the computer is fixed, what do you say?						

Situations	Favour A- small B-big	Grateful - Little -Moderately - Extremely	Likely to happen -To some extent - Extremely	Experience the same or similar situation, yes/no	Response	Suggestions
Moving You are moving to a new apartment. You have a lot of boxes and furniture, and you don't have a car. You know someone who has a truck and you ask the person to help you move, even though the two of you are not close friends. The person hesitates because he/she is very busy, but then agrees to help you. After you both load your things into the truck, drive to your new place, and then finish carrying everything into your new apartment, what do you say?						
Study Next week, there will be a test in your hardest class. Your friend, whom you know very well, is getting all A's, while you are struggling to pass. You ask your friend to help you study for the test and your friend agrees. After going over the material for 4 hours with your friend, you understand much more and feel confident about the upcoming test. Before you leave, what do you say to your friend?						
Book You are writing a term paper for one of your courses. There is a book you need to read to complete the paper. You go to the library, but the book has been checked out. Fortunately, a friend of yours, whom you know very well, has a copy of the book and offers to lend it to you for a few days. When you return the book, what do you say to your friend?						

Situations	Favour A- small B-big	Grateful - Little -Moderately - Extremely	Likely to happen -To some extent - Extremely	Experience the same or similar situation, yes/no	Response	Suggestions
Class notes You were sick and missed class last week. You feel better and go to class today. You ask your close friend, who is in the same class, to lend you the notes from last week to make copies. Your friend agrees to lend you the notes. When you return the class notes, what do you say?						
Coffee You and your friend, whom you know very well, go out for a coffee. When you go to pay for your coffee, you can't find your wallet. Then you realise that you left it at home. Your friend offers to pay for your coffee. After your friend pays for your coffee, what do you say?						
Ride Usually you walk home after class. But today it is raining hard and you don't have an umbrella. You see that your friend, whom you know very well and who lives near you, is getting ready to leave. You ask your friend for a ride and your friend agrees. When the car stops in front of your house, what do you say?						

Situations	**Favour** **A- small** **B-big**	**Grateful** **- Little** **-Moderately** **- Extremely**	**Likely to happen** **-To some extent** **- Extremely**	**Experience the same or similar situation, yes/no**	**Response**	**Suggestions**
Paper extension You are writing a term paper for one of your courses. You are working hard on the paper, but you have to stop because you also have to study for final exams in your other courses. The paper is due tomorrow, and you need a few more days to finish it. You decide to ask Professor C., whom you don't know very well, for an extension. Professor C. hesitates because it won't be fair to other students in class, but then he/she agrees to give you an extension. A few days later, when you turn in the paper, what do you say to Professor C.?						
Recommendation letter You want to apply for a scholarship. It requires recommendation letters from three professors. You have already asked two professors whom you know very well to write letters. Although you don't know Professor D. very well, you decide to ask him to write a letter for you because you took a course with him/her last semester. Professor D. agrees to write the recommendation letter for you. A few days later, when you meet with Professor D., he/she tells you that he/she has sent out the recommendation letter, what do you say?						

Situations	**Favour** **A- small** **B-big**	**Grateful** **- Little** **-Moderately** **- Extremely**	**Likely to happen** **-To some extent** **- Extremely**	**Experience the same or similar situation, yes/no**	**Response**	**Suggestions**
Conference There is a midterm exam in two weeks, but you have to miss class that day because you are scheduled to present a paper at a conference and will be out of town. You ask Professor F., whom you don't know very well, if you can take the exam on a different day. Professor F. hesitates because he/she is very strict about attendance, but finally agrees to let you take the exam before you go to the conference. When you complete and submit the exam, what do you say to Professor F.?						
FedEx You have just found out about a very good fellowship, but the deadline is two days away. Since this fellowship would help you a lot financially, you decide to apply. You ask Professor E., whom you know very well, to write a recommendation letter for you. Professor E. hesitates because he/she is very busy and the deadline is in two days, but he/she finally agrees to write the letter. When you meet with Professor E. the next day, he/she tells you that he/she has sent the letter by FedEx, what do you say?						
Reference book You are writing a term paper for one of your courses. For this paper, you borrow a book from Professor A., whom you know very well. You are supposed to return the book to Professor A. tomorrow. However, you need to keep it for another 2-3 days to complete your paper. So you ask Professor A. if you can keep the book for a few more days, and he/she agrees. When you return the book to Professor A., what do you say?						

Situations	Favour A- small B-big	Grateful - Little -Moderately - Extremely	Likely to happen -To some extent - Extremely	Experience the same or similar situation, yes/no	Response	Suggestions
Job interview There is a midterm exam in two weeks, but you have to miss class that day because you have an important job interview and will be out of town. You ask Professor B., whom you know very well, if you can take the exam on a different day. Professor B. hesitates because he/she is very strict about attendance, but finally agrees to let you take the exam earlier. When you complete and submit the exam, what do you say to Professor B.?						

Thank you very much for being cooperative

Table B. 2: Arabic version of Cheng's (2005) pilot DCT for Jordanians Native Speakers of Arabic

المواقف	درجة الشكر قليلا باعتدال للغاية	مقدار الخدمة كبيرة قليلة	توقع حدوثه ليس من الممكن من الممكن الى حد ما من الممكن للغاية	هل واجهته نعم لا	الرد	اقتراحات
الملاحظات المتناثرة وانت في طريقك الى الصف تساقطت اوراقك و ملاحظاتك صدفة في المدخل المكتظ. توقف طالب لاتعرفه جيدا كان مارا بالجوار وساعدك في التقاط اوراقك و ملاحظاتك . عندما يعطيك الاوراق والملاحظات, ماذا ترد قائلا						
الاتجاه رتبت لمقابلة في مطعم في مدينه لم تزرها من قبل.تصل للمدينة متأخر قليلا وحيث انك لم تزرها من قبل, لا تتمكن من العثور على المطعم. يائيسا من وجوده ,تسال رجلا طاعنا في السن مارا عن الاتجاهات. بعد ان يخبرك كيف تصل الى هناك, ماذا ترد قائلا **الإقامة** ستذهب لحضور مؤتمر في مدينة كبيرة في غضون اسبوعين. ميزانيتك محدودة، لذلك تحاول البحث عن زميل لتتقاسم تكلفة الفندق، ولكن لا يمكنك العثور على أي شخص. طالب اكبر منك (في أواخر ال 40) ومتزوج تخرج للتو من قسمك ويعيش في تلك المدينة. الطالب يدعوك الى البقاء في منزله(ها) خلال فترة المؤتمر. تقررقبول هذا العرض حتى لوانك لا تعرف الشخص جيدا، . بعد المؤتمر وقبل ان تتوجه الى المدرسة ، ماذا تقول لهذا الشخص						

القلم انت في الصف و بحاجة لتدوين ملاحظات، ولكن لا يمكنك العثور على القلم. تسأل زميل لا تعرفه جيدا جالسا بجانبك أن يعيرك واحد. بعد انتهاء الحصة، وعند ارجاع القلم ، ماذا تقول لزميلك؟						
الحاسوب لديك مشكلة مع حاسوبك دائما يتعطل. تعرف شخصا في المدرسة وهو يعرف الكثير عن الحواسيب وتسأله مساعدتك على الرغم من أنكما لستما صديقين حميمين.تردد الشخص لأنه / أنها مشغولة جدا، ولكن يوافق على مساعدتك، وينتهي به الامر بامضاء فترة ما بعد الظهيرة كلها لتصليح حاسوبك . بعد يتم إصلاح الحاسوب، ماذا تقول						
التنقل تنتقل الى شقة جديد و لديك الكثير من الصناديق والأثاث، ولا تملك سيارة. تعرف شخص لديه سيارة تطلب منه مساعدتك، على الرغم من أنكما لم تكونا صديقين حميمين. يترددالشخص لأنه / أنها مشغولة جدا، ولكن يوافق بعد ذالك على مساعدتك . بعدما تحملان الأشياء الخاصة بك في شاحنة يوصلك لمكانك الجديد، وبعد الانتهاء من نقل كل شيء الى شقتك الجديدة، ماذا تقول						

الدراسه سيكون هنالك اختبار في اصعب مادة لديك الأسبوع المقبل، صديق لك تعرفه جيدا يحصل على العلامة ألف دائما ، في حين انت تناضل من أجل النجاح. تسأله لمساعدتك في الدراسة لاختبار ويوافق على ذلك. بعد امضاء اربع ساعات في دراسة الماده مع صديقك, تفهم الكثير وتشعر بالثقة لتقديم الامتحان القادم. قبل أن تغادر، ماذا تقول لصديقك						
الكتاب تكتب بحثا لاحد موادك الدراسية .تحتاج لقراءة كتاب لاستكمال البحث. تذهب إلى المكتبة، ولكن تجد ان الكتاب معار. لحسن الحظ، صديق لك تعرفه جيدا ، لديه نسخة من الكتاب، ويعيرك الكتاب لبضعة أيام. عند ارجاع الكتاب ، ماذا تقول لصديقك						
الملاحظات الدراسية كنت مريضا وتغيبت عن محاضرة الاسبوع الماضي. تشعربتحسن وتذهب إلى محاضرة اليوم. تسأل صديقك الحميم، الذي هو في نفس المحاضرة ان يعيرك ملاحظات الاسبوع الماضي لاخذ نسخة.يوافق صديقك على ذلك . عند ارجاعها ماذا تقول						
القهوة تخرج أنت وصديقك الذي تعرفه جيدا لتناول القهوة. عندما تذهب لدفع ثمن القهوة الخاص بك، لا تجد محفظتك. ثم تدرك انك تركتها في المنزل. يسدد صديقك ثمن القهوة الخاص بك. بعد ان يسدد صديقك ثمن القهوة الخاص بك، ماذا تقول						

ركوب في العادة تمشي الى المنزل بعد انتهاء الحصة. ولكنها اليوم تمطر بغزارة وليس لديك مظلة. ترى أن صديقك الذي تعرفه جيدا والذي يعيش بالقرب منك، يستعد للمغادرة. تسأل صديقك للركوب معه ويوافق. عند توقف السيارة أمام المنزل ، وماذا تقول						
تمديد فترة تسليم البحث تكتب بحثا لاحدى المود الدراسية و تعمل بجد لاكماله, لكن عليك أن تتوقف لأنه لديك أيضا دراسة للامتحانات النهائية في المود الدراسية الأخرى الخاصة بك. وعليك تسليه غدا ، وا نت بحاجة لبضعة أيام أخرى للانتهاء من ذلك. تقرر أن تسأل البروفيسور(س)، الذي لا تعرفه جيدا، للتمديد. البروفيسور(س) تردد لأن ذلك لن يكون عادلا لغيرهم من الطلاب في الصف، ولكنه يوافق بعد ذلك على التمديد. وبعد بضعة أيام و عندما تسلمه البحث ماذا تقول للبروفيسو(س)؟						
رسالة توصية تريد التقدم بطلب للحصول على منحة دراسية والذي يتطلب الحصول على رسائل توصية من ثلاثة أساتذة. لقد طلبت بالفعل اثنين من الأساتذة الذين تعرفهم جيدا لكتابة رسائل توصية. على الرغم من أنك لا تعرف الأستاذ (د) جيدا، تقرر أن تطلب منه كتابة رسالة توصية لك لأنك أخذت دورة معه الفصل الدراسي الماضي و يوافق على ذلك. وبعد بضعة أيام، عندما تلتقي مع أستاذ (د)، هو / هي يخبرك انه / انها ارسل (ت) رسالة التوصية، ماذا تقول						

مؤتمر هناك امتحان منتصف الفصل في غضون أسبوعين ، ولكن عليك أن تتغيب ذلك اليوم لأنه من المقرران تقدم بحثا في مؤتمر خارج المدينة. تسأل أستاذ (و) ، الذي لا تعرفه جيدا ، اذا كنت تستطيع إجراء الامتحان في يوم اخر. أستاذ (و) يتردد لأنه / أنها صارم (ه) للغاية حول الحضور ، ولكنه(ها) يوافق في نهاية المطاف لتمكنك من إجراء الامتحان قبل أن تذهب إلى المؤتمر. عند استكمال وتقديم الامتحان ، ماذا تقول لأستاذ(و)						
فيديكس عرفت للتو عن منحة جامعية جيدة جدا، لكن الموعد النهائي هو بعد يومين. هذه المنحة الجامعية تساعدك كثيرا من الناحية المالية، عليك أن تقرر التقدم بطلب تسأل أستاذ (ه)، الذي تعرفه جيدا، لكتابة رسالة توصية لك لكنه يتردد لأنه / أنها مشغولة جدا والموعد النهائي هو بعد يومين، ولكن يوافق أخيرا على كتابة هذه الرسالة. عندما تقابله في اليوم التالي ، يخبرك انه / انها ارسلت هذه الرسالة من خلال فيديكس، ماذا تقول؟						
مرجع تكتب بحثا لاحد المواد الدراسية الخاصة بك. لاجل هذا البحث تستعير الكتاب من أستاذ (ألف)، الذي تعرفه جيدا. و من المفترض ان ترجع الكتاب إلى أستاذ (الف) غدا. لكنك تحتاج إلى ابقاءه معك لأنك بحاجة 2-3 أيام لاستكمال البحث الخاص بك. لذلك تسأل أستاذ (ألف) إذا كنت تستطيع ابقاء الكتاب لبضعة أيام أخرى، و يوافق. عند ارجاع الكتاب لأستاذ ألف، ماذا تقول						

المقابلة للوظيفة هناك امتحان منتصف الفصل في غضون أسبوعين، ولكن عليك أن تتغيب ذلك اليوم لأنه لديك مقابلة عمل مهمه وسوف تكون خارج المدينة. تسأل أستاذ (باء)، الذي تعرفه جيدا، اذا كنت تستطيع إجراء الامتحان في يوم اخر. يتردد أستاذ (باء) لأنه / أنها صارمة للغاية حول الحضور، ولكن تتم الموافقة في نهاية المطاف لتتمكنك من إجراء الامتحان في وقت سابق. عند استكمال وتقديم الامتحان ، ماذا تقول للأستاذ (ب)						

شكرا جزيلا لتعاونكم

Appendix C: The Specifications of the Social and Contextual Variables of the DCT Situations and their Identifications

Table C. 1: Specifications of the social and contextual variables in the DCT situations

Situations	Social status	Social familiarity	Imposition
1- Class notes	=	+	-
2- Booking a hotel	=	-	-
3-In a restaurant	=	+	+
4- Computer	=	-	+
5- Recommendation letter	-	+	-
6- FedEx	-	+	+
7-Paper extension	-	-	+
8- Giving directions	-	-	-

Notes: + indicates high; = indicates equal; ─ indicates low

Table C. 2: Identification of the social and contextual variables in the Table C.1 cited from Detmer and Brown (1995, pp. 4-5) and Cheng (2005, p. 55).

Social and contextual variables	Definition	+	-	=
Social status (Social Power)	It refers to the power of the speaker has in relation to the addressee(s). It implies the degree to which the speaker can impose his or her will on the addressee because of his/her higher rank within a group, society, professional status, or the hearer's need to have a certain job or duty executed.	It means that the speaker has higher title, social position, or rank is controlling the assets in The given situation such as (supervisor, manager, customer or president,	It means that the speaker has lower title, social position, or rank is not controlling the assets in the given situation such as worker of lesser status, salesman serving customers or a member of organisation with lesser status.	It means that the speaker and His /her addressee(s) have comparable rank, title, or social position.
Familiarity (Social distance)	It refers to the degree both the speaker and the addressee (s) are familiar with each other	It means that both the speaker and His /her addressee(s)	It means that the speaker and the addressee(s) know and/or recognise each other. There	It means that the speaker and Addressee(s) do not

		know each other very well, such as being close friends.	is an affiliation between the both of them; they share solidarity and they could be described as working together toward a common goal or interest such as being classmates co-workers/members)	know and/or identify with each other. They are strangers interacting due to social/life circumstances.
Imposition	It refers to the obligation of the speakers to execute an action or the expenditure and/or services by the addressee(s)	It means that the action done by the hearer involves a great expenditure of services, good or efforts	It means that the action done by the hearer did not involve a great expenditure of services, good or efforts	

Appendix D: The DCT of the Present Study

- **English Version**

Dear Respondent,

This Discourse Completion Task (DCT) is part of a PhD study entitled "Politeness Orientation in the linguistic expression of gratitude in Jordan and England: A Comparative Cross-Cultural Study" conducted by Nisreen AL-Khawaldeh in accordance with the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Linguistics/Pragmatics in Bedfordshire University. The DCT is written in two languages, one in English and one in Arabic directed to the participants based on the mother tongue. Each DCT consists of eight situations described accurately. You are kindly requested to complete the personal details section as well as your reaction to every situation as it is in reality- real conversation - in the space available. Rest assured that the information elicited will be kept confidential and used for academic purposes. We sincerely appreciate your efforts and time.

1. Gender: Male Female

2. Age: _____

3. Level of study: Masters Doctorate

4. Department/Program:

_____

5. What is your native language? _____

6. Have you ever studied or lived in any other countries besides the UK. For more

Than one year? No

Yes, if yes, please indicate the countries and the length of time.

Country: _____ Length of time: _____year(s) _____month(s)

Country: _____ Length of time: _____year(s) _____month(s)

Situation 1: Class notes

You were sick and missed class last week. You feel better and go to class today. You ask your close friend, who is in the same class, to lend you the notes from last week to make copies. Your friend agrees to lend you the notes. You are giving the class notes back to your friend and you say.....

Situation 2: Booking a hotel

You are about to go on holiday to France and need to book a hotel. You know someone in your office who is bilingual but you don't know him/her very well. You ask this colleague to call the hotel from your phone to make the reservation on your behalf. When he/she has made the reservation successfully what do you say?

Situation 3: In a Restaurant

You are out having dinner with a group of close friends in a restaurant. When the bill arrives, one of your friends insists on paying for you all. You know your friend can afford it but you insist that the bill should be split between you all. Your friend is adamant and puts his/her card down. Once the bill has been paid what do you say to your friend?

Situation 4: Computer

You are having trouble with your computer; it keeps crashing. You know someone at school who knows a lot about computers and you ask the person to help you even though you are not close friends. The person hesitates because he/she is very busy, but then agrees to help you, and ends up spending the whole afternoon fixing your computer for free. After the computer is fixed, what do you say?

Situation 5: Recommendation letter

You want to apply for a scholarship. A letter of reference is required' from three lecturers. You have already asked two doctors whom you know very well to write letters. And as you know Doctor Barwick very well, you decide to ask him to write a letter for you because you took two courses with him/her last semester. Doctor Barwick agrees to write the recommendation letter for you. A few days later, when you meet with Doctor Barwick who tells you that the recommendation letter is ready. What do you say?

Situation 6: FedEx

You have just found out about a very good fellowship, but the deadline is two days away. Since this fellowship would help you a lot financially, you decide to apply. You ask Professor Smith, whom you know very well, to write a recommendation letter for you. Professor Smith hesitates because she /he is very busy and the deadline is in two days, but he finally agrees to write the letter. When you meet Professor Smith next day, she/he tells you that she/he has sent the letter by FedEx, You say:

Situation 7: Paper extension

You are writing a term paper for one of your courses. You are working hard on the paper, but you have to stop because you also have to study for final exams in other courses. The paper is due tomorrow, and you need a few more days to finish it. You decide to ask Professor Cox, whom you don't know very well, for an extension. Professor Cox hesitates because it won't be fair to other students in class, but then he agrees to give you an extension. A few days later, when you turn in the paper, what do you say to Professor Cox?

Situation 8: Giving directions

You have arranged to meet a friend at a restaurant in a town where you have never been before. You arrive at the town a little late and since you have never been there before, you can't find the restaurant. Desperate to find it, you decide to ask anyone you meet. Accidently, you met a lecturer who is working in your university but you don't know him very well. After he tells you how to get there, what do you say?

Thank you very much for being cooperative

- **Arabic Version**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

هذه الاستبانه جز من دراسه بعنوان توجه الكياسه في التعبير اللوي عن العرفان في الاردن وانجلترا : دراسه مقارنه للثقافات تقوم بها الطالبه نسرين الخوالده لمرحله الدكتوراه من جامعه بيدفوردشير، وتنقسم الاستبانه الى قسمين احدهما باللغه الانجليزيه والاخر باللغه العربيه، يوجه كل قسم منها للمشاركين بالدراسه حسب اللغه الام. تتضمن كل استبانه ثمانيه مواقف موصوفه بدقه . يرجى الاجابه على كل موقف كما هو في الواقع ـمحادثه حقيقه ـ في الفراغ المتاح. ولكم خالص التقدير على جهدكم ووقتكم.

للاردنيين الناطقين باللغة العربية

. الجنس : ذكر أنثى

2. السن : _____

3 . مستوى الدراسة : ماجستير دكتوراه

4. / البرنامج علمي ادبي

5. ما هي لغتك الأم ؟ _____

6. هل اقمت او درست في بلد اخر غير الاردن لمدة عام او اكثر نعم لا
إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم، يرجى ذكر البلدان وطول الوقت.
البلد : _____ المدة _____ شهر _____ سنه
البلد : _____ المدة _____ شهر _____ سنه

1. 2 النسخة العربية:

تتضمن الاستبانة التالية ثمانية مواقف. الرجاء قراءتها وكتابة ما ستقوله في الواقع في كل حالة في الفراغ االمتاح. الرجاء الرد كما لوكنت في محادثة حقيقية.

الموقف الأول: الملاحظات الدراسية

كنت مريضا وتغيبت عن محاضرة الأسبوع الماضي. تشعر بتحسن وتذهب إلى محاضرة اليوم. تسأل صديقك الحميم، الذي هو في نفس المحاضرة ان يعيرك ملاحظات الأسبوع الماضي لأخذ نسخة. يوافق صديقك على ذلك. عند إرجاعها تقول

الموقف الثاني : حجز فندق

على وشك ان تذهب في عطلة إلى فرنسا، وتحتاج إلى حجز فندق.تعرف شخص ما في مكتبك ناطق بلغتين لكنك لا تعرفه / ها بشكل جيد . تطلبه / ها ان تهاتف الفندق من الهاتف الخاص بك للحجز نيابة عنك. عندما ي/تحجز بنجاح ماذا تقول؟

الموقف الثالث : في مطعم

تتناول العشاء مع مجموعة من أصدقائك المقربين في مطعم. عندما تصل الفاتورة،يصر واحد من أصدقائك على دفعهالكم جميعا. تعرف ان صديقك قادرا على دفعها ولكن تحاول باصرارعلى تقسيم الفاتورة بينكم جميعا. صديقك عنيد و يصر على موقفهم ويضع بطاقته. بمجرد دفع الفاتورة ماذا تقول لصديقك؟

الموقف الرابع : الحاسوب

لديك مشكلة مع حاسوبك دائما يتعطل. تعرف شخصا في المدرسة وهو يعرف الكثير عن الحواسيب وتسأله مساعدتك على الرغم من أنكما لستما صديقين حميمين.تردد الشخص لأنه / أنها مشغولة جدا، ولكن يوافق على مساعدتك، وينتهي به الأمر بإمضاء فترة ما بعد الظهيرة كلها لتصليح حاسوبك . بعد ما يتم إصلاح الحاسوب، ماذا تقول؟

الموقف الخامس: رسالة توصية

تريد التقدم بطلب للحصول على منحة دراسية والذي يتطلب الحصول على رسائل توصية من ثلاثة أساتذة. لقد طلبت بالفعل اثنين من الأساتذة الذين تعرفهم جيدا لكتابة رسائل توصية. ولانك تعرف الدكتور (باروك) جيدا جدا، تقرر أن تطلب منه كتابة رسالة توصية لك لأنك أخذت معه مساقيين الفصل الدراسي الماضي و يوافق على ذلك. وبعد بضعة أيام، عندما تلتقي مع الدكتور (باروك)، يخبرك ان رسالة التوصية جاهزة ، ماذا تقول؟

الموقف السادس: : فيديكس

عرفت للتو عن منحة جامعية جيدة جدا، لكن الموعد النهائي بعد يومين. هذه المنحة الجامعية تساعدك كثيرا من الناحية المالية، عليك أن تقرر التقدم بطلب تسأل أستاذ (سميث)، الذي تعرفه جيدا، لكتابة رسالة توصية لك لكنه يتردد لأنه مشغول جدا والموعد النهائي هو بعد يومين، ولكن يوافق أخيرا على كتابة هذه الرسالة. عندما تقابله في اليوم التالي، يخبرك انه ارسل هذه الرسالة من خلال فيديكس، ماذا تقول؟

الموقف السابع: تمديد فترة تسليم البحث

تكتب بحثا لاحدى المود الدراسية و تعمل بجد لاكماله, لكن عليك أن تتوقف لأنه لديك أيضا دراسة للامتحانات النهائية في المواد الدراسية الأخرى الخاصة بك. وعليك تسليه غدا ، وا نت بحاجة لبضعة أيام أخرى للانتهاء من ذلك. تقرر أن تسأل البروفيسور(كوكس)، الذي لا تعرفه جيدا، للتمديد. البروفيسور(كوكس) تردد لأن ذلك لن يكون عادلا لغيرك من الطلاب في الصف، ولكنه يوافق بعد ذلك على التمديد. وبعد بضعة أيام و عندما تسلمه البحث ماذا تقول للبروفيسو (كوكس) ؟

الموقف الثامن: الاتجاه

رتبت لمقابلة في مطعم في مدينه لم تزرها من قبل.تصل للمدينة متأخر قليلا وحيث انك لم تزرها من قبل, لا تتمكن من العثور على المطعم. يائسا من وجوده تقرر أن تسأل أي شخص تقابله .بالصدفه، تقابل محاضر يعمل في الجامعة الخاص بك ولكنك لاتعرفه جيدا بعد أن يخبرك كيف تصل إلى هناك، ماذا تقول؟

شكرا جزيلا لتعاونكم

Appendix E: The International Phonetic Association (IPA)

Table E. 1: The International Phonetic Association (IPA)

Arabic letters	ا/ى	ب	ت	ث	ج	ح	خ	د	ذ	ر	ز	س	ش	ص	ض	ط	ظ	ع	غ	ف	ق	ك	ل	م	ن	ه	و	ي
IPA (MSA)	ʔ, a:	b	t	θ	d ʒ g ʒ	ħ	x	d	ð	r	z	s	ʃ	s̲ˤ	dˤ	tˤ	ðˤ zˤ	ʕ	ɣ	f	q	k	l	m	n	h	w, u:	j, i:

hamza	lone hamza: ' , hamza on alif: >, hamza below alif: <, hamza on a: &, hamza on ya: }
harakat	fatha: a , damma: u, kasra: i

Appendix F: Frequencies and T-test Results for Analysing Gratitude Strategies Used by Both NSsA and NSsE in Both Research Instruments across Situations

Table F. 1: The frequency of gratitude strategies used in both research instruments by both NSsA and NSsE in class notes situation

Situation/Class notes	**NSsA**		**NSsE**	
Strategy's types/instrument	DCT (n. 46)	RP (n.30)	DCT (n.46)	RP (n.30)
Thanking	38	28	46	33
appreciation	1	0	8	4
Positive feeling	11	10	16	11
apology	0	0	0	0
Recognition of imposition	0	0	0	0
Repayment	6	7	18	7
Other strategies	17	18	7	8
Alerters	4	3	4	2
Total	77	66	99	65

Table F. 2:The frequency of gratitude strategies used in both research instruments by both NSsA and NSsE in booking a hotel situation

Situation/ booking a hotel	**NSsA**		**NSsE**	
Strategy's types/ instrument	DCT (n. 46)	RP (n.30)	DCT (n.46)	RP (n.30)
Thanking	46	33	46	31
appreciation	5	0	16	6
Positive feeling	19	16	11	12
apology	3	1	6	1
Recognition of imposition	3	4	5	4
Repayment	17	8	6	7
Other strategies	20	10	9	6
Alerters	4	0	2	1
Total	117	72	101	68

Table F. 3: The frequency of gratitude strategies used in both research instruments by both NSsA and NSsE in a restaurant situation

Situation/ in a restaurant	**NSsA**		**NSsE**	
Strategy's types/ instrument	DCT (n. 46)	RP (n.30)	DCT (n.46)	RP (n.30)
Thanking	45	23	43	27
appreciation	0	0	6	6
Positive feeling	8	10	10	15
apology	1	1	1	0
Recognition of imposition	11	6	16	6
Repayment	13	12	26	16
Other strategies	18	14	13	3
Alerters	5	6	1	5
Total	101	72	116	78

Table F. 4: The frequency of gratitude strategies used in both research instruments by both NSsA and NSsE in computer situation

Situation/ Computer	**NSsA**		**NSsE**	
Strategy's types/ instrument	DCT (n. 46)	RP (n.30)	DCT (n.46)	RP (n.30)
Thanking	41	35	46	31
appreciation	6	7	27	9
Positive feeling	23	14	10	5
apology	9	16	18	14
Recognition of imposition	16	14	11	9
Repayment	21	10	29	15
Other strategies	23	20	11	13
Alerters	2	5	0	6
Total	141	121	152	102

Table F. 5: The frequency of gratitude strategies used in both research instruments by both NSsA and NSsE in recommendation letter situation

Situation/ Recommendation letter	**NSsA**		**NSsE**	
Strategy's types/ instrument	DCT (n. 46)	RP (n.30)	DCT (n.46)	RP (n.30)
Thanking	53	32	46	30
appreciation	14	5	17	7
Positive feeling	13	20	18	13
apology	2	2	0	0
Recognition of imposition	1	2	0	0
Repayment	14	2	0	3
Other strategies	11	11	10	9
Alerters	11	14	7	3
Total	119	88	98	65

Table F. 6: The frequency of gratitude strategies used in both research instruments by both NSsA and NSsE in FedEx situation

Situation/ FedEx	**NSsA**		**NSsE**	
Strategy's types/ instrument	DCT (n. 46)	RP (n.30)	DCT (n.46)	RP (n.30)
Thanking	46	35	45	34
appreciation	12	13	25	19
Positive feeling	19	20	24	13
apology	22	16	8	9
Recognition of imposition	26	10	12	7
Repayment	13	10	14	12
Other strategies	10	10	9	4
Alerters	13	15	4	5
Total	161	129	141	103

Table F. 7: The frequency of gratitude strategies used in both research instruments by both NSsA and NSsE in paper extension situation

Situation/ paper extension	**NSsA**		**NSsE**	
Strategy's types/ instrument	DCT (n. 46)	RP (n.30)	DCT (n.46)	RP (n.30)
Thanking	48	32	46	32
appreciation	8	9	25	9
Positive feeling	18	14	17	9
apology	11	9	14	4
Recognition of imposition	6	6	12	8
Repayment	13	11	21	14
Other strategies	11	16	15	9
Alerters	22	20	3	4
Total	137	117	153	89

Table F. 8: The frequency of gratitude strategies used in both research instruments by both NSsA and NSsE in giving directions situation

Situation/ Giving directions	**NSsA**		**NSsE**	
Strategy's types/ instrument	DCT (n. 46)	RP (n.30)	DCT (n.46)	RP (n.30)
Thanking	40	30	46	28
appreciation	0	0	4	1
Positive feeling	3	7	0	5
apology	0	2	0	0
Recognition of imposition	0	1	0	0
Repayment	10	6	0	2
Other strategies	15	10	11	10
Alerters	7	9	1	4
Total	75	65	62	50

Table F. 9: T-test analysis of number of strategies for English and Jordanian participants

Group Statistics

	Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Total number of strategies	NSsA	76	2.7220	1.24973	.05068
	NSsE	76	2.5362	1.05936	.04296

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	**Sig. (2-tailed) (P Value)**	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Total number of strategies	Equal variances assumed	15.335	.000	2.797	1214	.005	.18586	.06644	.05550	.31621
	Equal variances not assumed			2.797	1182.290	**.005***	.18586	.06644	.05550	.31621

Note: * p≤. 05

Table F. 10: T-test analysis of number of gratitude expression strategies used across situations for both English and Jordanian participants

Group Statistics

	g	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Class notes	NSsA	76	1.8816	1.18847	.13633
	NSsE	76	2.1579	.86491	.09921
Booking a hotel	NSsA	76	2.4868	1.06450	.12211
	NSsE	76	2.2237	.72293	.08293
In a restaurant	NSsA	76	2.2763	.85788	.09841
	NSsE	76	2.5526	.95770	.10986
Computer	NSsA	76	3.4474	1.03788	.11905
	NSsE	76	3.3421	1.00070	.11479
Recommendation letter	NSsA	76	2.6447	1.12788	.12938
	NSsE	76	2.1447	.79505	.09120
FedEx	NSsA	76	3.8158	1.19678	.13728
	NSsE	76	3.2105	1.02392	.11745
Paper extension	NSsA	76	3.3421	1.05265	.12075
	NSsE	76	3.1842	.89010	.10210
Direction	NSsA	76	1.8816	.79945	.09170
	NSsE	76	1.4737	.57674	.06616

Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed) (P Value	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper

Class notes	Equal variances assumed	5.501	.020	-1.639	150	.103	-.27632	.16861	-.60947	.05683
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.639	137.041	.104	-.27632	.16861	-.60972	.05709
Booking a hotel	Equal variances assumed	18.635	.000	1.783	150	.077	.26316	.14760	-.02849	.55481
	Equal variances not assumed			1.783	132.047	.077	.26316	.14760	-.02881	.55513
In a restaurant	Equal variances assumed	1.205	.274	-1.874	150	.063	-.27632	.14749	-.56773	.01510
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.874	148.219	.063	-.27632	.14749	-.56776	.01513
Computer	Equal variances assumed	.089	.766	.636	150	.525	.10526	.16538	-.22151	.43203
	Equal variances not assumed			.636	149.801	.525	.10526	.16538	-.22151	.43204
Recommendation letter	Equal variances assumed	10.235	.002	3.159	150	.002	.50000	.15829	.18724	.81276
	Equal variances not assumed			3.159	134.776	**.002***	.50000	.15829	.18695	.81305
FedEx	Equal variances assumed	2.080	.151	3.350	150	**.001***	.60526	.18067	.24828	.96225
	Equal variances not assumed			3.350	146.492	.001	.60526	.18067	.24821	.96231

Paper extension	Equal variances assumed	1.927	.167	.999	150	.320	.15789	.15813	-.15455	.47034
	Equal variances not assumed			.999	145.969	.320	.15789	.15813	-.15462	.47041
Direction	Equal variances assumed	.408	.524	3.607	150	**.000***	.40789	.11308	.18447	.63132
	Equal variances not assumed			3.607	136.428	.000	.40789	.11308	.18429	.63150

Table F. 11: The frequencies and percentages of each gratitude expression strategy used by both NSsAs and NSsE

	Thanking	Appreciation	Apology	Positive feeling	Recognition of Imposition	Repayment	Others	Alerter	Total
NSsA	36%	5%	14%	6%	7%	10%	14%	8%	100%
(n=76)	601	80	226	95	106	173	234	140	1655
NSsE	40%	12%	12%	5%	6%	12%	10%	3%	100%
(n=76)	610	189	189	75	90	190	147	52	1542

Table F. 12: T-test analysis of overall use of strategies of the gratitude expression for both NSsA and NSsE

Group Statistics

	group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Thanking	NSsA	76	.9885	.38274	.01552
	NSsE	76	1.0033	.22229	.00902
Appreciation	NSsA	76	.1316	.33831	.01372
	NSsE	76	.3109	.46677	.01893
Positive feelings	NSsA	76	.3717	.58537	.02374
	NSsE	76	.3109	.46322	.01879
Apology	NSsA	76	.1563	.36790	.01492
	NSsE	76	.1234	.32912	.01335
Recognition of imposition	NSsA	76	.1743	.38403	.01557
	NSsE	76	.1480	.35542	.01441
Repayment	NSsA	76	.2845	.45520	.01846
	NSsE	76	.3125	.47443	.01924
Others	NSsA	76	.3849	.55644	.02257
	NSsE	76	.2418	.43989	.01784
Alerters	NSsA	76	.2303	.46943	.01904
	NSsE	76	.0855	.29143	.01182

Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed) (P Value	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper

Thanking	Equal variances assumed	36.080	.000	-.825	1214	.410	-.01480	.01795	-.05002	.02041
	Equal variances not assumed			-.825	974.663	.410	-.01480	.01795	-.05003	.02042
Appreciation	Equal variances assumed	257.694	.000	-7.668	1214	.000	-.17928	.02338	-.22514	-.13341
	Equal variances not assumed			-7.668	1106.814	**.000***	-.17928	.02338	-.22515	-.13340
Positive feelings	Equal variances assumed	31.506	.000	2.010	1214	.045	.06086	.03027	.00146	.12025
	Equal variances not assumed			2.010	1153.081	**.045***	.06086	.03027	.00146	.12025
Apology	Equal variances assumed	10.997	.001	1.643	1214	.101	.03289	.02002	-.00638	.07217
	Equal variances not assumed			1.643	1199.241	.101	.03289	.02002	-.00638	.07217
Recognition of imposition	Equal variances assumed	6.300	.012	1.240	1214	.215	.02632	.02122	-.01532	.06795
	Equal variances not assumed			1.240	1206.795	.215	.02632	.02122	-.01532	.06795
Repayment	Equal variances assumed	4.756	.029	-1.049	1214	.295	-.02796	.02666	-.08027	.02435
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.049	1211.928	.295	-.02796	.02666	-.08027	.02435

Others	Equal variances assumed	87.154	.000	4.974	1214	.000	.14309	.02877	.08665	.19953
	Equal variances not assumed			4.974	1152.610	**.000***	.14309	.02877	.08665	.19953
Alerters	Equal variances assumed	177.026	.000	6.459	1214	.000	.14474	.02241	.10077	.18870
	Equal variances not assumed			6.459	1014.370	**.000***	.14474	.02241	.10076	.18871

Table F. 13: T-test analysis of gratitude expression strategies used in class notes situation

Group Statistics

	group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Thanking	NSsA	76	.8684	.47165	.05410
	NSsE	76	1.0395	.19601	.02248
Appreciation	NSsA	76	.0132	.11471	.01316
	NSsE	76	.1579	.40175	.04608
Positive feelings	NSsA	76	.2763	.55615	.06379
	NSsE	76	.3553	.48177	.05526
Apology	NSsA	76	.0000	.00000[a]	.00000
	NSsE	76	.0000	.00000[a]	.00000
Recognition of imposition	NSsA	76	.0000	.00000[a]	.00000
	NSsE	76	.0000	.00000[a]	.00000
Repayment	NSsA	76	.1711	.37906	.04348
	NSsE	76	.3289	.52632	.06037
Others	NSsA	76	.4605	.70125	.08044
	NSsE	76	.1974	.43266	.04963

Alerters	NSsA	76	.0921	.29110	.03339
	NSsE	76	.0789	.27145	.03114

a. t cannot be computed because the standard deviations of both groups are 0.

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed) (P Value	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Thanking	Equal variances assumed	29.929	.000	-2.920	150	.004	-.17105	.05859	-.28682	-.05529
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.920	100.157	**.004***	-.17105	.05859	-.28729	-.05482
Appreciation	Equal variances assumed	45.307	.000	-3.020	150	.003	-.14474	.04793	-.23943	-.05004
	Equal variances not assumed			-3.020	87.148	**.003***	-.14474	.04793	-.23999	-.04948
Positive feelings	Equal variances assumed	.452	.502	-.935	150	.351	-.07895	.08440	-.24572	.08782
	Equal variances not assumed			-.935	147.011	.351	-.07895	.08440	-.24575	.08785
Repayment	Equal variances assumed	18.530	.000	-2.122	150	.035	-.15789	.07440	-.30490	-.01088

Others	Equal variances not assumed			-2.122	136.308	**.036***	-.15789	.07440	-.30502	-.01076
	Equal variances assumed	22.193	.000	2.784	150	.006	.26316	.09452	.07640	.44992
	Equal variances not assumed			2.784	124.873	**.006***	.26316	.09452	.07609	.45022
Alerters	Equal variances assumed	.333	.565	.288	150	.774	.01316	.04566	-.07705	.10337
	Equal variances not assumed			.288	149.273	.774	.01316	.04566	-.07706	.10337

Table F. 14: T-test analysis of gratitude expression strategies used in booking a hotel situation

Group Statistics

	group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Thanking	NSsA	76	1.0395	.34412	.03947
	NSsE	76	1.0132	.30522	.03501
Appreciation	NSsA	76	.0658	.24956	.02863
	NSsE	76	.2895	.45653	.05237
Positive feelings	NSsA	76	.4605	.68197	.07823
	NSsE	76	.3026	.46245	.05305
Apology	NSsA	76	.0526	.22478	.02578
	NSsE	76	.0921	.29110	.03339
Recognition of imposition	NSsA	76	.0921	.29110	.03339
	NSsE	76	.1184	.32525	.03731
Repayment	NSsA	76	.3289	.47295	.05425
	NSsE	76	.1711	.37906	.04348
Others	NSsA	76	.3947	.49204	.05644

Alerters	NSsE	76	.1974	.40066	.04596
	NSsA	76	.0526	.22478	.02578
	NSsE	76	.0395	.19601	.02248

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed) (P Value	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Thanking	Equal variances assumed	.979	.324	.499	150	.619	.02632	.05276	-.07794	.13057
	Equal variances not assumed			.499	147.892	.619	.02632	.05276	-.07795	.13058
Appreciation	Equal variances assumed	75.344	.000	-3.748	150	.000	-.22368	.05968	-.34161	-.10576
	Equal variances not assumed			-3.748	116.149	**.000***	-.22368	.05968	-.34189	-.10548
Positive feelings	Equal variances assumed	12.453	.001	1.671	150	.097	.15789	.09452	-.02886	.34465
	Equal variances not assumed			1.671	131.936	.097	.15789	.09452	-.02907	.34486
Apology	Equal variances assumed	3.578	.060	-.936	150	.351	-.03947	.04219	-.12283	.04388

	Equal variances not assumed			-.936	140.982	.351	-.03947	.04219	-.12288	.04393
Recognition of imposition	Equal variances assumed	1.112	.293	-.526	150	.600	-.02632	.05007	-.12525	.07262
	Equal variances not assumed			-.526	148.191	.600	-.02632	.05007	-.12526	.07263
Repayment	Equal variances assumed	21.441	.000	2.271	150	.025	.15789	.06953	.02052	.29527
	Equal variances not assumed			2.271	143.209	**.025***	.15789	.06953	.02047	.29532
Others	Equal variances assumed	28.334	.000	2.712	150	.007	.19737	.07279	.05355	.34119
	Equal variances not assumed			2.712	144.085	**.008***	.19737	.07279	.05350	.34123
Alerters	Equal variances assumed	.594	.442	.385	150	.701	.01316	.03421	-.05444	.08075
	Equal variances not assumed			.385	147.272	.701	.01316	.03421	-.05445	.08076

Table F. 15: T-test analysis of gratitude expression strategies used in in restaurant situation

Group Statistics

	group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Thanking	NSsA	76	.8947	.44956	.05157
	NSsE	76	.9211	.27145	.03114
Appreciation	NSsA	76	.0000	.00000	.00000
	NSsE	76	.1579	.36707	.04211
Positive feelings	NSsA	76	.2368	.42797	.04909
	NSsE	76	.3289	.47295	.05425
Apology	NSsA	76	.0263	.16114	.01848
	NSsE	76	.0132	.11471	.01316
Recognition of imposition	NSsA	76	.2237	.41948	.04812
	NSsE	76	.2895	.45653	.05237
Repayment	NSsA	76	.3289	.47295	.05425
	NSsE	76	.5526	.50053	.05741
Others	NSsA	76	.4211	.57185	.06560
	NSsE	76	.2105	.41039	.04708
Alerters	NSsA	76	.1447	.35417	.04063
	NSsE	76	.0789	.31678	.03634

Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed) (P Value	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper

Thanking	Equal variances assumed	8.238	.005	-.437	150	.663	-.02632	.06024	-.14534	.09271
	Equal variances not assumed			-.437	123.271	.663	-.02632	.06024	-.14555	.09292
Appreciation	Equal variances assumed	85.207	.000	-3.750	150	.000	-.15789	.04211	-.24109	-.07470
	Equal variances not assumed			-3.750	75.000	**.000***	-.15789	.04211	-.24177	-.07402
Positive feelings	Equal variances assumed	6.322	.013	-1.259	150	.210	-.09211	.07317	-.23667	.05246
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.259	148.526	.210	-.09211	.07317	-.23668	.05247
Apology	Equal variances assumed	1.357	.246	.580	150	.563	.01316	.02269	-.03167	.05799
	Equal variances not assumed			.580	135.482	.563	.01316	.02269	-.03171	.05803
Recognition of imposition	Equal variances assumed	3.439	.066	-.925	150	.356	-.06579	.07112	-.20631	.07473
	Equal variances not assumed			-.925	148.938	.356	-.06579	.07112	-.20632	.07474
Repayment	Equal variances assumed	7.367	.007	-2.832	150	.005	-.22368	.07899	-.37976	-.06761
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.832	149.521	**.005***	-.22368	.07899	-.37977	-.06760

Others	Equal variances assumed	24.820	.000	2.607	150	.010	.21053	.08074	.05099	.37006
	Equal variances not assumed			2.607	136.058	**.010***	.21053	.08074	.05086	.37019
Alerters	Equal variances assumed	5.374	.022	1.207	150	.229	.06579	.05451	-.04191	.17349
	Equal variances not assumed			1.207	148.171	.229	.06579	.05451	-.04192	.17350

Table F. 16: T-test analysis of gratitude expression strategies used in computer situation

Group Statistics

	group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Thanking	NSsA	76	1.0000	.46188	.05298
	NSsE	76	1.0132	.11471	.01316
Appreciation	NSsA	76	.1711	.37906	.04348
	NSsE	76	.4737	.50262	.05766
Positive feelings	NSsA	76	.4868	.62168	.07131
	NSsE	76	.1974	.40066	.04596
Apology	NSsA	76	.3289	.50035	.05739
	NSsE	76	.4211	.49701	.05701
Recognition of imposition	NSsA	76	.3947	.51843	.05947
	NSsE	76	.2632	.44327	.05085
Repayment	NSsA	76	.4079	.52096	.05976
	NSsE	76	.5789	.52315	.06001

Others	NSsA	76	.5658	.66001	.07571
	NSsE	76	.3158	.49559	.05685
Alerters	NSsA	76	.0921	.29110	.03339
	NSsE	76	.0789	.27145	.03114

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed) (P Value	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Thanking	Equal variances assumed	9.942	.002	-.241	150	.810	-.01316	.05459	-.12102	.09471
	Equal variances not assumed			-.241	84.217	.810	-.01316	.05459	-.12171	.09540
Appreciation	Equal variances assumed	55.875	.000	-4.191	150	.000	-.30263	.07221	-.44532	-.15995
	Equal variances not assumed			-4.191	139.461	**.000***	-.30263	.07221	-.44540	-.15986
Positive feelings	Equal variances assumed	37.572	.000	3.412	150	.001	.28947	.08484	.12184	.45711
	Equal variances not assumed			3.412	128.135	**.001***	.28947	.08484	.12161	.45734

Apology	Equal variances assumed	2.077	.152	-1.139	150	.257	-.09211	.08090	-.25195	.06774
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.139	149.993	.257	-.09211	.08090	-.25195	.06774
Recognition of imposition	Equal variances assumed	10.746	.001	1.682	150	.095	.13158	.07824	-.02302	.28618
	Equal variances not assumed			1.682	146.465	.095	.13158	.07824	-.02305	.28621
Repayment	Equal variances assumed	.147	.702	-2.020	150	**.045***	-.17105	.08469	-.33839	-.00372
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.020	149.997	.045	-.17105	.08469	-.33839	-.00372
Others	Equal variances assumed	14.605	.000	2.641	150	.009	.25000	.09468	.06293	.43707
	Equal variances not assumed			2.641	139.174	**.009***	.25000	.09468	.06281	.43719
Alerters	Equal variances assumed	.333	.565	.288	150	.774	.01316	.04566	-.07705	.10337
	Equal variances not assumed			.288	149.273	.774	.01316	.04566	-.07706	.10337

Table F. 17: T-test analysis of gratitude expression strategies used in recommendation letter situation

Group Statistics

	group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Thanking	NSsA	76	1.0263	.16114	.01848
	NSsE	76	1.0000	.00000	.00000
Appreciation	NSsA	76	.2500	.43589	.05000
	NSsE	76	.3158	.46792	.05367
Positive feelings	NSsA	76	.4474	.64072	.07350
	NSsE	76	.4079	.49471	.05675
Apology	NSsA	76	.0526	.22478	.02578
	NSsE	76	.0000	.00000	.00000
Recognition of imposition	NSsA	76	.0395	.19601	.02248
	NSsE	76	.0000	.00000	.00000
Repayment	NSsA	76	.2105	.41039	.04708
	NSsE	76	.0395	.19601	.02248
Others	NSsA	76	.2895	.48486	.05562
	NSsE	76	.2500	.43589	.05000
Alerters	NSsA	76	.3289	.55108	.06321
	NSsE	76	.1316	.37743	.04329

Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed) (P Value	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper

Thanking	Equal variances assumed	8.565	.004	1.424	150	.157	.02632	.01848	-.01021	.06284
	Equal variances not assumed			1.424	75.000	.159	.02632	.01848	-.01051	.06314
Appreciation	Equal variances assumed	3.213	.075	-.897	150	.371	-.06579	.07335	-.21073	.07915
	Equal variances not assumed			-.897	149.252	.371	-.06579	.07335	-.21074	.07916
Positive feelings	Equal variances assumed	5.374	.022	.425	150	.671	.03947	.09285	-.14400	.22294
	Equal variances not assumed			.425	140.975	.671	.03947	.09285	-.14409	.22304
Apology	Equal variances assumed	18.685	.000	2.041	150	.043	.05263	.02578	.00168	.10358
	Equal variances not assumed			2.041	75.000	**.045***	.05263	.02578	.00127	.10400
Recognition of imposition	Equal variances assumed	13.408	.000	1.756	150	.081	.03947	.02248	-.00495	.08390
	Equal variances not assumed			1.756	75.000	.083	.03947	.02248	-.00532	.08426
Repayment	Equal variances assumed	56.188	.000	3.279	150	.001	.17105	.05217	.06797	.27413
	Equal variances not assumed			3.279	107.526	**.001***	.17105	.05217	.06764	.27447

Others	Equal variances assumed	1.404	.238	.528	150	.598	.03947	.07479	-.10830	.18725
	Equal variances not assumed			.528	148.331	.598	.03947	.07479	-.10831	.18726
Alerters	Equal variances assumed	24.759	.000	2.576	150	.011	.19737	.07662	.04598	.34876
	Equal variances not assumed			2.576	132.673	**.011***	.19737	.07662	.04582	.34892

Table F. 18: T-test analysis of gratitude expression strategies used in fedex situation

Group Statistics

	group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Thanking	NSsA	76	1.0658	.34002	.03900
	NSsE	76	1.0395	.25512	.02926
Appreciation	NSsA	76	.3289	.47295	.05425
	NSsE	76	.5789	.49701	.05701
Positive feelings	NSsA	76	.5132	.59985	.06881
	NSsE	76	.4868	.50315	.05772
Apology	NSsA	76	.5000	.50332	.05774
	NSsE	76	.2237	.41948	.04812
Recognition of imposition	NSsA	76	.4737	.50262	.05766
	NSsE	76	.2500	.43589	.05000
Repayment	NSsA	76	.3026	.46245	.05305
	NSsE	76	.3421	.47757	.05478
Others	NSsA	76	.2632	.47240	.05419
	NSsE	76	.1711	.37906	.04348
Alerters	NSsA	76	.3684	.58520	.06713
	NSsE	76	.1184	.32525	.03731

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed) (P Value	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Thanking	Equal variances assumed	2.729	.101	.540	150	.590	.02632	.04876	-.07003	.12266
	Equal variances not assumed			.540	139.123	.590	.02632	.04876	-.07009	.12272
Appreciation	Equal variances assumed	4.984	.027	-3.177	150	.002	-.25000	.07870	-.40550	-.09450
	Equal variances not assumed			-3.177	149.632	**.002***	-.25000	.07870	-.40550	-.09450
Positive feelings	Equal variances assumed	4.492	.036	.293	150	.770	.02632	.08981	-.15114	.20377
	Equal variances not assumed			.293	145.591	.770	.02632	.08981	-.15118	.20381
Apology	Equal variances assumed	32.976	.000	3.676	150	.000	.27632	.07516	.12781	.42482
	Equal variances not assumed			3.676	145.281	**.000***	.27632	.07516	.12777	.42486
Recognition of imposition	Equal variances assumed	24.094	.000	2.931	150	.004	.22368	.07632	.07289	.37448

Repayment	Equal variances not assumed			2.931	147.056	**.004***	.22368	.07632	.07287	.37450
	Equal variances assumed	1.066	.303	-.518	150	.605	-.03947	.07626	-.19015	.11120
	Equal variances not assumed			-.518	149.845	.605	-.03947	.07626	-.19015	.11120
Others	Equal variances assumed	7.367	.007	1.326	150	.187	.09211	.06948	-.04517	.22938
	Equal variances not assumed			1.326	143.275	.187	.09211	.06948	-.04522	.22944
Alerters	Equal variances assumed	45.254	.000	3.255	150	.001	.25000	.07680	.09825	.40175
	Equal variances not assumed			3.255	117.300	**.001***	.25000	.07680	.09791	.40209

Table F.19: T-test analysis of gratitude expression strategies used in paper extension situation

Group Statistics

	group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Thanking	NSsA	76	1.0526	.39648	.04548
	NSsE	76	1.0263	.28160	.03230
Appreciation	NSsA	76	.2237	.41948	.04812
	NSsE	76	.4474	.50053	.05741
Positive feelings	NSsA	76	.4211	.61673	.07074
	NSsE	76	.3421	.47757	.05478
Apology	NSsA	76	.2632	.44327	.05085

Recognition of imposition	NSsE	76	.2368	.42797	.04909
	NSsA	76	.1579	.36707	.04211
Repayment	NSsE	76	.2632	.44327	.05085
	NSsA	76	.3158	.46792	.05367
Others	NSsE	76	.4605	.50175	.05755
	NSsA	76	.3553	.50870	.05835
Alerters	NSsE	76	.3158	.49559	.05685
	NSsA	76	.5526	.64072	.07350
	NSsE	76	.0921	.29110	.03339

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed) (P Value	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Thanking	Equal variances assumed	3.850	.052	.472	150	.638	.02632	.05578	-.08391	.13654
	Equal variances not assumed			.472	135.319	.638	.02632	.05578	-.08400	.13663
Appreciation	Equal variances assumed	29.122	.000	-2.986	150	.003	-.22368	.07491	-.37170	-.07567
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.986	145.551	**.003***	-.22368	.07491	-.37174	-.07563
Positive feelings	Equal variances assumed	6.270	.013	.882	150	.379	.07895	.08947	-.09784	.25574

	Equal variances not assumed			.882	141.157	.379	.07895	.08947	-.09793	.25583
Apology	Equal variances assumed	.555	.457	.372	150	.710	.02632	.07068	-.11334	.16597
	Equal variances not assumed			.372	149.815	.710	.02632	.07068	-.11334	.16597
Recognition of imposition	Equal variances assumed	10.535	.001	-1.594	150	.113	-.10526	.06602	-.23571	.02518
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.594	144.961	.113	-.10526	.06602	-.23574	.02522
Repayment	Equal variances assumed	10.184	.002	-1.839	150	.068	-.14474	.07870	-.30024	.01076
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.839	149.275	.068	-.14474	.07870	-.30024	.01077
Others	Equal variances assumed	.642	.424	.485	150	.629	.03947	.08147	-.12149	.20044
	Equal variances not assumed			.485	149.898	.629	.03947	.08147	-.12150	.20044
Alerters	Equal variances assumed	105.279	.000	5.705	150	.000	.46053	.08073	.30102	.62003
	Equal variances not assumed			5.705	104.696	**.000***	.46053	.08073	.30046	.62060

Table F. 20: T-test analysis of gratitude expression strategies used in giving directions situation

Group Statistics

	group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Thanking	NSsA	76	.9605	.30291	.03475
	NSsE	76	.9737	.16114	.01848
Appreciation	NSsA	76	.0000	.00000	.00000
	NSsE	76	.0658	.24956	.02863
Positive feelings	NSsA	76	.1316	.37743	.04329
	NSsE	76	.0658	.24956	.02863
Apology	NSsA	76	.0263	.16114	.01848
	NSsE	76	.0000	.00000	.00000
Recognition of imposition	NSsA	76	.0132	.11471	.01316
	NSsE	76	.0000	.00000	.00000
Repayment	NSsA	76	.2105	.41039	.04708
	NSsE	76	.0263	.16114	.01848
Others	NSsA	76	.3289	.47295	.05425
	NSsE	76	.2763	.45015	.05164
Alerters	NSsA	76	.2105	.41039	.04708
	NSsE	76	.0658	.24956	.02863

Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed) (P Value	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper

Thanking	Equal variances assumed	4.340	.039	-.334	150	.739	-.01316	.03936	-.09092	.06461
	Equal variances not assumed			-.334	114.300	.739	-.01316	.03936	-.09112	.06480
Appreciation	Equal variances assumed	24.449	.000	-2.298	150	.023	-.06579	.02863	-.12235	-.00923
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.298	75.000	**.024***	-.06579	.02863	-.12282	-.00876
Positive feelings	Equal variances assumed	6.703	.011	1.268	150	.207	.06579	.05190	-.03677	.16834
	Equal variances not assumed			1.268	130.056	.207	.06579	.05190	-.03689	.16847
Apology	Equal variances assumed	8.565	.004	1.424	150	.157	.02632	.01848	-.01021	.06284
	Equal variances not assumed			1.424	75.000	.159	.02632	.01848	-.01051	.06314
Recognition of imposition	Equal variances assumed	4.109	.044	1.000	150	.319	.01316	.01316	-.01284	.03916
	Equal variances not assumed			1.000	75.000	.321	.01316	.01316	-.01305	.03937
Repayment	Equal variances assumed	75.331	.000	3.642	150	.000	.18421	.05057	.08428	.28414
	Equal variances not assumed			3.642	97.588	**.000***	.18421	.05057	.08384	.28458

Others	Equal variances assumed	1.966	.163	.703	150	.483	.05263	.07490	-.09536	.20062
	Equal variances not assumed			.703	149.635	.483	.05263	.07490	-.09536	.20062
Alerters	Equal variances assumed	32.249	.000	2.627	150	.010	.14474	.05510	.03587	.25360
	Equal variances not assumed			2.627	123.796	**.010***	.14474	.05510	.03569	.25379

Appendix G: Frequencies and T-test Results for Analysing Gratitude Strategies Used in Both Research Instruments across Situations

Table G. 1: The frequency of gratitude strategies used in both research instruments by NSsA and NSsE in class notes situation

Situation/Class notes	**NSsA**		**NSsE**	
Strategy's types/instrument	RP (n.30)	DCT (n. 30)	RP (n.30)	DCT (n.30)
Thanking	28	24	33	30
appreciation	0	1	4	6
Positive feeling	10	10	11	10
apology	0	0	0	0
Recognition of imposition	0	0	0	0
Repayment	7	6	7	10
Other strategies	18	15	8	0
Alerters	3	4	2	2
Total	66	60	65	58

Table G. 2: The frequency of gratitude strategies used in both research instruments by NSsA and NSsE in booking a hotel situation

Situation/ booking a hotel	**NSsA**		**NSsE**	
Strategy's types/ instrument	RP (n.30)	DCT (n. 30)	RP (n.30)	DCT (n.30)
Thanking	33	30	31	30
appreciation	0	5	6	7
Positive feeling	16	14	12	8
apology	1	0	1	1
Recognition of imposition	4	3	4	1
Repayment	8	7	7	5
Other strategies	10	9	6	7
Alerters	0	0	1	1
Total	72	68	68	60

Table G. 3: The frequency of gratitude strategies used in both research instruments by both NSsA and NSsE in a restaurant situation

Situation/ in a restaurant	**NSsA**		**NSsE**	
Strategy's types/ instrument	RP (n.30)	DCT (n. 30)	RP (n.30)	DCT (n.30)
Thanking	23	30	27	27
appreciation	0	0	6	6
Positive feeling	10	6	15	10
apology	1	1	0	0
Recognition of imposition	6	11	6	9
Repayment	12	12	16	19
Other strategies	14	10	3	2
Alerters	6	5	5	1
Total	72	75	78	74

Table G. 4: The frequency of gratitude strategies used in both research instruments by NSsA and NSsE in computer situation

Situation/ Computer	**NSsA**		**NSsE**	
Strategy's types/ instrument	RP (n.30)	DCT (n. 30)	RP (n.30)	DCT (n.30)
Thanking	35	26	31	30
appreciation	7	6	9	14
Positive feeling	14	14	5	9
apology	16	9	14	7
Recognition of imposition	14	10	9	6
Repayment	10	12	15	13
Other strategies	20	15	13	3
Alerters	5	1	6	0
Total	121	93	102	82

Table G. 5: The frequency of gratitude strategies used in both research instruments in by NSsA and NSsE recommendation letter situation

Situation/ Recommendation letter	**NSsA**		**NSsE**	
Strategy's types/ instrument	RP (n.30)	DCT (n. 30)	RP (n.30)	DCT (n.30)
Thanking	32	30	30	30
appreciation	5	10	7	4
Positive feeling	20	10	13	14
apology	2	1	0	0
Recognition of imposition	2	1	0	0
Repayment	2	3	3	0
Other strategies	11	8	9	5
Alerters	14	10	3	7
Total	88	73	65	60

Table G. 6: The frequency of gratitude strategies used in both research instruments by NSsA and NSsE in FedEx situation

Situation/ FedEx	**NSsA**		**NSsE**	
Strategy's types/ instrument	RP (n.30)	DCT (n. 30)	RP (n.30)	DCT (n.30)
Thanking	35	30	34	30
appreciation	13	11	19	12
Positive feeling	20	15	13	16
apology	16	18	9	6
Recognition of imposition	10	11	7	6
Repayment	10	7	12	9
Other strategies	10	10	4	6
Alerters	15	8	5	2
Total	129	110	103	87

Table G. 7: The frequency of gratitude strategies used in both research instruments by NSsA and NSsE in paper extension situation

Situation/ paper extension	**NSsA**		**NSsE**	
Strategy's types/ instrument	RP (n.30)	DCT (n. 30)	RP (n.30)	DCT (n.30)
Thanking	32	32	32	30
appreciation	9	8	9	10
Positive feeling	14	12	9	8
apology	9	9	4	11
Recognition of imposition	6	4	8	7
Repayment	11	8	14	15
Other strategies	16	11	9	13
Alerters	20	16	4	2
Total	117	100	89	96

Table G. 8: The frequency of gratitude strategies used in both research instruments by NSsA and NSsE in giving directions situation

Situation/ Giving directions	**NSsA**		**NSsE**	
Strategy's types/ instrument	RP (n.30)	DCT (n. 30)	RP (n.30)	DCT (n.30)
Thanking	30	29	28	30
appreciation	0	0	1	0
Positive feeling	7	3	5	0
apology	2	0	0	0
Recognition of imposition	1	0	0	0
Repayment	6	3	2	0
Other strategies	10	6	10	7
Alerters	9	6	4	0
Total	65	47	50	37

Table G. 9: T-test of overall number of gratitude expression strategies used by NSsA In both DCT and role-play

Group Statistics

	group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Total number of strategies	DCT/NSsA	30	2.6083	1.10757	.07149
	Role-play /NSsA	30	3.0417	1.41360	.09125

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed) (P Value	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Total number of strategies	Equal variances assumed	10.346	.001	-3.738	478	.000	-.43333	.11592	-.66111	-.20556
	Equal variances not assumed			-3.738	452.122	**.000***	-.43333	.11592	-.66114	-.20553

Table G. 10: T-test of overall number of gratitude expression strategies used by NSsE in both DCT and role-play

Group Statistics

	group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Total number of strategies	DCT/NSsE	30	2.3083	1.00456	.06484
	Role-play /NSsE	30	2.5833	1.04768	.06763

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed) (P Value	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Total number of strategies	Equal variances assumed	.721	.396	-2.935	478	**.003***	-.27500	.09369	-.45910	-.09090
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.935	477.158	.003	-.27500	.09369	-.45910	-.09090

Table G. 11: T-test of types of the gratitude expression strategies used by NSsA in both DCT and role-play

Group Statistics

	group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Thanking	DCT/NSsA	30	.9625	.24769	.01599
	Role-play /NSsA	30	1.0333	.53236	.03436
Appreciation	DCT/NSsA	30	.1708	.37715	.02434
	Role-play /NSsA	30	.1417	.34944	.02256
Positive feelings	DCT/NSsA	30	.3500	.47797	.03085
	Role-play /NSsA	30	.4625	.71348	.04605
Apology	DCT/NSsA	30	.1583	.36582	.02361
	Role-play /NSsA	30	.1958	.40806	.02634
Recognition of imposition	DCT/NSsA	30	.1667	.37346	.02411
	Role-play /NSsA	30	.1792	.39503	.02550
Repayment	DCT/NSsA	30	.2417	.42899	.02769
	Role-play /NSsA	30	.2750	.45670	.02948
Others	DCT/NSsA	30	.3500	.48664	.03141
	Role-play /NSsA	30	.4542	.65167	.04206
Alerters	DCT/NSsA	30	.2083	.40697	.02627
	Role-play /NSsA	30	.3000	.56539	.03650

Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference

						(P Value			Lower	Upper
Thanking	Equal variances assumed	39.830	.000	-1.869	478	.062	-.07083	.03790	-.14531	.00364
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.869	337.843	.062	-.07083	.03790	-.14538	.00372
Appreciation	Equal variances assumed	3.104	.079	.879	478	.380	.02917	.03319	-.03605	.09438
	Equal variances not assumed			.879	475.243	.380	.02917	.03319	-.03605	.09438
Positive feelings	Equal variances assumed	39.195	.000	-2.029	478	.043	-.11250	.05543	-.22142	-.00358
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.029	417.556	**.043***	-.11250	.05543	-.22146	-.00354
Apology	Equal variances assumed	4.688	.031	-1.060	478	.290	-.03750	.03537	-.10701	.03201
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.060	472.404	.290	-.03750	.03537	-.10701	.03201
Recognition of imposition	Equal variances assumed	.587	.444	-.356	478	.722	-.01250	.03509	-.08145	.05645
	Equal variances not assumed			-.356	476.500	.722	-.01250	.03509	-.08145	.05645
Repayment	Equal variances assumed	2.972	.085	-.824	478	.410	-.03333	.04045	-.11281	.04614

Others	Equal variances not assumed			-.824	476.139	.410	-.03333	.04045	-.11281	.04614
	Equal variances assumed	22.729	.000	-1.984	478	.048	-.10417	.05250	-.20733	-.00101
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.984	442.329	**.048***	-.10417	.05250	-.20735	-.00099
Alerters	Equal variances assumed	21.182	.000	-2.039	478	.042	-.09167	.04497	-.18002	-.00331
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.039	434.245	**.042***	-.09167	.04497	-.18005	-.00329

Table G. 12: T-test of types of the gratitude expression strategies used by NSsE in both DCT and role-play

Group Statistics

	group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Thanking	DCT/NSsE	30	.9875	.11133	.00719
	Role-play /NSsE	30	1.0250	.32888	.02123
Appreciation	DCT/NSsE	30	.2458	.44107	.02847
	Role-play /NSsE	30	.2542	.43630	.02816
Positive feelings	DCT/NSsE	30	.3125	.46448	.02998
	Role-play /NSsE	30	.3458	.47663	.03077
Apology	DCT/NSsE	30	.1042	.30612	.01976
	Role-play /NSsE	30	.1167	.32169	.02077
Recognition of imposition	DCT/NSsE	30	.1208	.32661	.02108
	Role-play /NSsE	30	.1417	.34944	.02256

Repayment	DCT/NSsE	30	.2958	.45737	.02952
	Role-play /NSsE	30	.3167	.49234	.03178
Others	DCT/NSsE	30	.1792	.38429	.02481
	Role-play /NSsE	30	.2583	.46637	.03010
Alerters	DCT/NSsE	30	.0625	.24257	.01566
	Role-play /NSsE	30	.1250	.35577	.02296

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed) (P Value	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Thanking	Equal variances assumed	25.850	.000	-1.673	478	.095	-.03750	.02241	-.08154	.00654
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.673	293.070	.095	-.03750	.02241	-.08161	.00661
Appreciation	Equal variances assumed	.094	.759	-.208	478	.835	-.00833	.04005	-.08702	.07036
	Equal variances not assumed			-.208	477.944	.835	-.00833	.04005	-.08702	.07036
Positive feelings	Equal variances assumed	2.398	.122	-.776	478	.438	-.03333	.04296	-.11775	.05108
	Equal variances not assumed			-.776	477.682	.438	-.03333	.04296	-.11775	.05108

Apology	Equal variances assumed	.762	.383	-.436	478	.663	-.01250	.02866	-.06882	.04382
	Equal variances not assumed			-.436	476.827	.663	-.01250	.02866	-.06882	.04382
Recognition of imposition	Equal variances assumed	1.827	.177	-.675	478	.500	-.02083	.03087	-.08150	.03983
	Equal variances not assumed			-.675	475.836	.500	-.02083	.03087	-.08150	.03983
Repayment	Equal variances assumed	1.689	.194	-.480	478	.631	-.02083	.04338	-.10607	.06440
	Equal variances not assumed			-.480	475.429	.631	-.02083	.04338	-.10607	.06440
Others	Equal variances assumed	17.401	.000	-2.030	478	.043	-.07917	.03901	-.15581	-.00252
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.030	461.142	**.043***	-.07917	.03901	-.15582	-.00251
Alerters	Equal variances assumed	21.021	.000	-2.249	478	.025	-.06250	.02779	-.11711	-.00789
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.249	421.723	**.025***	-.06250	.02779	-.11713	-.00787

Appendix H: Examples of Gratitude Expressions Elicited from NSsA and NSsE by DCTs and Role-Plays

Table H. 1: Examples of gratitude expressions elicited from NSsA by DCTs and role-plays

Strategy	DCTs	Role-plays
Thanking	"اشكرك جزيلا" '>aʃkuruk dʒazi:lan' 'Thank you very much' **(Booking a hotel)** "شكرا كثيرا" 'ʃukran kθi:ran' ' Thanks a lot' **(In a restaurant)** "شكرا كثيرا استاذي" 'ʃukran lak kθi:ran usta:ði:' 'Thank you very much my teacher' **(Giving directions)** "شكرا كثيرا لاعطائي دفتر ملاحظاتك" ʃukran kθi:ran l<iʕta:i: daftar mula:ħaðʿa:tuk' 'Thank you very much	"مشكور على جهودك الطيبه يا دكتورنا" 'maʃku:r ʕala: dʒuhu:dak atʿjbah ja: duktu:rna' 'Thank you very much for your good efforts our Doctor' **(Recommendation letter)** "تعجز الكلمات عن التعبير عن شكري يا استاذي الفاضل" 'taʕdʒaz alkalima:t ʕan altʕbi:r ʕan ʃukri: ja: usta:ði: alfa:dʿil' 'Words can't express my thanking my moralist teacher' **(FedEx)** "اشكرك ياعزيزي على كرمك" '>aʃkuruk ja: ʕazi:zi: ʕala: karamik' 'Thank you my dear for your generosity' **(In a restaurant)** "اشكر فيك حسن اخلاقك يا غالي" 'aʃkur fi:k ħusn >axla:qak ja: ɣa:li:' 'I thank in you your good manners my dear'

	for giving me your class notes' **(Class notes)** "شاكر لك لطفك وحسن معاملتك" 'ʃa:kir lak lutˁfak wa ħusn muʕa:maltak', ' I am thankful for your kindness and good way of treating me' **(Computer)**	**(Computer)** "دكتور شكرا كثير كثير على خدمتك" 'duktu:r ʃukran kθi:r kθi:r ʕala: xidmitak' 'Doctor, thanks very much very much for your service' **(Recommendation letter)**
Appreciation	"اقدر لك مساعدتك عاليا" '>uqadir lak musa:ʕadatak ʕa:liyan' 'I highly appreciate for you your help' **(Booking a hotel)** "اقدر لك عاليا" '>uqadir lak ʕa:liyan' 'I appreciate for you your good efforts' **(Computer)** "اقدر ما عملته من اجلي عاليا" '>uqadir ma: ʕamiltah	"كل التقدير على الجهد الذي بذلته يا اصيل لخدمتي" 'kul ataqdi:r ʕala: aldʒuhd alaði: baðaltah ja: asˁi:l lixidmati:' 'All appreciation is due to the effort you made thoroughbred for my service' **(Computer)** "اقدر لك يادكتور تفهمك لظروفي" '>uqadir lak ja: duktu:r tafahumak liðˁuru:fi:' 'I appreciate, doctor, your understanding of my circumstances' **(Paper extension)** "كل الاحترام لحضرتكم لما قدمتموه" 'kul ataqdi:r liħdˁratikum lima: qadamtumu:h'

	min adʒli: ʕa:liyan’ ‘ I highly appreciate what you have done for me’ **(FedEx)**	‘All respect is due to your excellency for what you have presented’ **(FedEx)**
Positive feelings	"هذا من طيب اصلك" ‘haða: min tˁi:b asˁlak’ ‘This is of your good pedigree’ **(In a restaurant)** "كل الاحترام دكتور لما فعلته من اجلي" ‘kul al<iħtir:am duktu:r lima: faʕaltah min adʒli:’ ‘All respect Doctor for what you have made for my sake’ **(FedEx)** "هذه لفته كريمه منك" ‘haðihi laftah kari:mah mink’ ‘ This is a very generous gesture form you’ **(In a restaurant)** "رساله التوصيه الذي كتبتها يا	"انت لاتعرف درجه المعروف الذي عملته لي" ‘>nta la: taʕrif daradʒat almaʕru:f alaði: ʕamiltah li:’ ‘You do not know the degree of the favour you have done for me’ **(Booking a hotel)** "والله ابن اصل وشهم" ‘wa Allah ibin asˁil wa ʃahim’ ‘By God’s name, you are well-bed and noble’ **(Computer)** "لا اعرف ماذا اقول لك دكتور" ‘la: >aʕrif maða: >aqu:l lak ja: duktu:r’ ‘ I do not know what to say to you Doctor’ **(FedEx)** "لقد غمرتني بكرمك هذا" ‘laqad ɣamartani: bikaramik haða:’ ‘You have overwhelmed me by your generosity’ **(In a restaurant)**

	دكتورستسهم بشكل كبير لدعم طلبي للحصول على المنحه" ‘risa:lat atwsˁjah alaði: katabtaha: ja: duktu:r satushim biʃakil kabi:r lidaʕm tˁalabi: lilħisˁu:l ʕala: alminħah’ ‘ The letter of reference you wrote Doctor will greatly contribute to support my scholarship application’ **(Recommendation letter)**	"اكن لك كل الاحترام والموده" ‘>akun lak kul aliħtira:m wa almawadah’ ‘ I have all respect and affection for you’ **(Computer)**
Apology	"انا اسف جدا" ‘ana: a:sif dʒidan’ ‘I am so sorry’ **(Computer)** "اعتذر عن التاخير في تسليم البحث" ‘>aʕtaðr ʕan alt>xi:r fi: tasli:m albaħθ’ ‘I apologise for the delay in submitting the research work’ **(Paper extension)**	"اعتذر لانني لم اتمكن من تسليم البحث في الموعد المحدد" ‘>aʕtaðir lianani: lam atamakan min tasli:m albaħθ fi: almawʕid almuħadad’ ‘ I apologise because I could not submit the research work at the specified time’ **(Paper extension)** "اسف جدا جدا لانني اضعت وقتك معي" ‘a:sif dʒidan dʒidan li>anani: >adˁʕt waqtak maʕi:’ ‘I am very, very sorry because I wasted your time with me’

	"اقدم اعتذاري الشديد لازعاجك معي" ‘>uqadim iʕtiðari: alʃadi:d liizʕadʒak maʕi:’ ‘ I give my deep apology for disturbing you with me’ **(FedEx)** "ارجو ان تعذرني" ‘>ardʒu: >an taʕðrni:’ ‘ I beg your pardon’ **(Computer)**	**(Computer)** "مستاه كثير كثير من نفسي" ‘musta'ah kθi:r kθi:r min nafsi:’ ‘I am very, very upset with myself’ **(Computer)** "متاسفه كثير كثير لازعاجك معي" ‘mut>sif kθi:r kθi:r liizʕadʒak maʕi:’ ‘I am so so sorry for disturbing you with me’ **(Recommendation letter)**
Recognition of imposition	"اثقلنا كاهلك" ‘>aθqalna kahilak’ ‘I burdened you’ **(Computer)** "انا متاكد انني سببت لك الكثير من الازعاج" ‘ana: mut>akid >anani: sababti lak alkaθi:r min alizʕa:dʒ’ ‘ I am sure that I caused you a lot of disturbance to you ‘	"انا بعرف دكتور انك مضغوط هذه الفتره" ‘ana: baʕraf duktu:r <inak madˤu: tˤ haðihi alfatrah’ ‘ I know Doctor that you are busy this period of time’ **(Recommendation letter)** "و الله ما كان قصدي ازعجك معي" ‘wa Allah ma: ka:n qasˤdi: >azʕidʒak maʕ:’ ‘By the name of Allah, it was not my intention to disturb you with me’ **(FedEx)**

	(FedEx) " مَا كَان يجب عليك أَن تزعج نفسك معنا " ‘ma: kan jadʒib ʕaljk >an tuzʕidʒ nafsak maʕana:’ ‘ You should not bother yourself with us’ **(FedEx)** "لم أكن أعلم أنها ستستغرق زمنا طويل" ‘lam >akun >aʕlam >annaha: satstaɣriq zamanan tˁawi:lan’, 'did not know that it I will take "that long time' **(Computer)**	"والله انني اعلم كم ان تصليح الحاسوب امر مرهق" ‘wa Allah >anani: >aʕlam >an tasˁli:ħ alħa:su:b’>amr murhiq’ ‘ By the name of Allah, I know how tiring is fixing the computer’ **(Computer)** "اشعر انني أزعجتك كثير كثير" ‘>aʃʕur >anani‘>azʕadʒtak’ kθi:r kθi:r’ ‘I feel I disturbed you very much very much’ **Booking a hotel)**
Repayment,	"انا مستعد لمساعدتك في اي وقت" ‘>ana: mustaʕid li musa:ʕadatik fi: >aj waqit’ ‘ I am ready for helping	"تفضل لتناول وجبه الغدا معنا" ‘tafadˁdˁal litana:wil wadʒbat alɣada: ' maʕana:’ ‘ You are welcome to have a lunch with us’ **(Computer)**

	you in any time’ **Booking a hotel)** "يشرفني استضافتك لبيتنا لاكرامك" ‘ juʃarifuna istidʕafatak libjtina liikramik’ ‘We are honoured by welcoming you to our house to honour you’ **(FedEx)** "سابذل ما في وسعي لخدمتك" ‘sa>bðul ma: fi: wisʕi: lixidmatik’ ‘I will spare no efforts to service you’ **(Booking a hotel)** "اتمنى أن أكون قادرا على مكافئتك ياعزيزي" ‘>atamana: >an >aku:n qa:dir ʕala: muka:fa 'tak’ ‘ I wish I will be	"يسعدني ان اقدم لك هذه الهديه تعبيرا عن امتناني" ‘ jsʕidni: >an >uqadm lak haðihi alhadjah taʕbi:ran ʕan imtinani:’ ‘ We are happy to present you this gift as an expression of our indebtedness’ **(Computer)** "اوعدك ان ذلك لن يتكرر ابدا ابدا" ‘>wʕidak >anna ða:lik lan jatakarar >abadan >abadan’ ‘ I promise you that this will never ever happen’ **(Paper extension)** "تاكد بان معروفك لن ينسا ابدا" ‘ t>akad b>an>a maʕru:fak’ lan junsa >abadan’ ‘Be sure that your favour will never be forgotten’ **(FedEx)** "انا بخدمه الناس الطيبين امثالك" ‘>ana bixdmat ana:s altʕjbi:n amθa:lak ‘I am in service of good people like you’ **(Computer)**

	able to reward you my dear' **(Computer)**	
Alerters	"دكتور باروك" 'duktu:r Ba:rwik' 'Doctor Barwick' **(Recommendation letter)** "صديقي" 'sˤadi:qi:' ' My friend' **(Class notes)** "اخي الكريم" '>axi: alkari:m' ''My honourable brother' **Booking a hotel)** "دكتور" 'duktu:r' 'Doctor' **(Giving directions)**	"اخونا العزيز" '>axu:na alʕazi:z' ' Our dear brother' **Booking a hotel)** "صديقنا الغالي" 'sˤadi:qana: alɣa:li:' 'Our dear friend' **(Class notes)** "بروفيسور سميث" 'Professor Smith' 'Bru:fi:su:r smiθ' **(FedEx)** "السلام عليكم" assala:mu ʕaljkum' ' Hello' **(Paper extension)**

Other strategies	"اطال الله عمرك" ‘atˁa:l Allah ʕumrak’ ‘ May Allah make you live longer’ **(Recommendation letter)** "ماذا تنصحني ان اعمل لاتجنب حدوث هذه المشكله مره اخرى" ‘ma:ða: tansaħni: >an >aʕmal l<iatajanab ħudu:θ haðihi almuʃkilah marrah >uxra: ‘What you advise me to do to avoid the recurrence of this problem’ **(Computer)** "هل تعرف هنالك اماكن جميله يمكنني زيارتها" ‘hal taʕrif huna:lik >ama:kin jumkinu:ni: zija:ratuha:’ ‘Do you know any beautiful places there I	"الله يعطيك الف عافيه" ‘Allah jaʕti:k alf ʕa:fjah’ ‘May Allah give thousands of good health’ **(FedEx)** "هل تعرف اي موقع الكتروني سهل يمكنني ان اتعلم بعض الكلمات الفرنسيه من خلاله" ‘hal taʕrif >aj mawqiʕ iliktru:ni: sahil jumkinuni: >an >ataʕalam baʕdˁ alkalima:t alfaransjah min xila:lih’ ‘ Do you know any easy website through which I can learn some French vocabularies’ **(Booking a hotel)** "ضروري لازم نتعرف عليك" ‘dˁaru:ri: la:zim ntʕraf ʕaljak’ ‘ It is necessary that we have to get to know you’ **(Giving directions)** "اتمنى ان احصل على علامه جيده في هذا التقرير" ‘‘>atamana: >an aħsˁul ʕala: ʕala:mah dʒaji:dah fi: haða: ataqri:r’ ‘ I wish I will get a good mark in this report’ **(Paper extension)**

	can visit’ **Booking a hotel)** "انت تعرف انني طالب مميز وملتزم" ‘>nta taʕrif >annani: tˁa:lib mumjaz wa multazim’ ‘ You know that I am a distinctive and committed student’ **(Paper extension)**	

Table H. 2: Examples of gratitude expressions elicited from NSsE by DCTs and role-plays

Strategy	**DCTs**	**Role-plays**
Thanking	“Thanks a lot” **(In a restaurant)** “Thank you for your assistance” **(Computer)** “Thanks for the loan of the notes” **(Class notes)** “Thanks”**(Giving directions).** “Many thanks”**(Booking a hotel’**	“Thank you very much”**(Recommendation letter)** “Thanks for the directions” **(Giving directions)** “Thank you again” **(Booing a hotel)** “Thanks for sending this letter” **(FedEx)** “Thank you ever so much for the time you took to do that”(**Computer).**

Appreciation	"I highly appreciate that"**(Booking a hotel).** "Your help is much appreciated"**(Paper extension)** "I appreciate that you have taken time out to do it"**(Computer).** 'Your efforts are much appreciated.' **(FedEx)**	"I appreciate it" **(Class notes)** "I really appreciate you sparing the time to help me"**(FedEx)** "I appreciate that"**(In a restaurant)** "I deeply appreciate all of your efforts to fix my computer" **(Computer)**
Positive feeling	"I glad to take an extension" **(Paper extension)** "That was generous of you" **(In a restaurant)** "I knew I could count on you" **(Computer)** "It was very good of you" (**Booking a hotel)**	"So you have done for me a big favour" (**Booking a hotel).** "You've really helped me out" **(Class notes)** "You have gone out of your way to help me" **(Computer)** "It was awfully good of you to spend time on the computer" (**Computer)** "I think it will help towards achieving a high grade" (**Paper extension)**
Apology	"I am so sorry it has taken so long to fix" **(Computer)** "I do apologise for my late-submission" (**Paper extension)**	"I am really sorry' **(Paper extension)** "I am really embarrassed" **(Computer)**
Recognition of imposition	"I hope it hasn't delayed your plans" (**Computer)** "I put you in an awkward situation with regard to the other students" **(Paper**	"I understand that you are very busy**" (FedEx)** "I know that you are really busy" **(Computer)**

	extension) "I realise that was a very hard decision as it was not fair for me to the extension when they did not"(**Paper extension)**	"I know that I took up so much of your time.'**(Computer)"**

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